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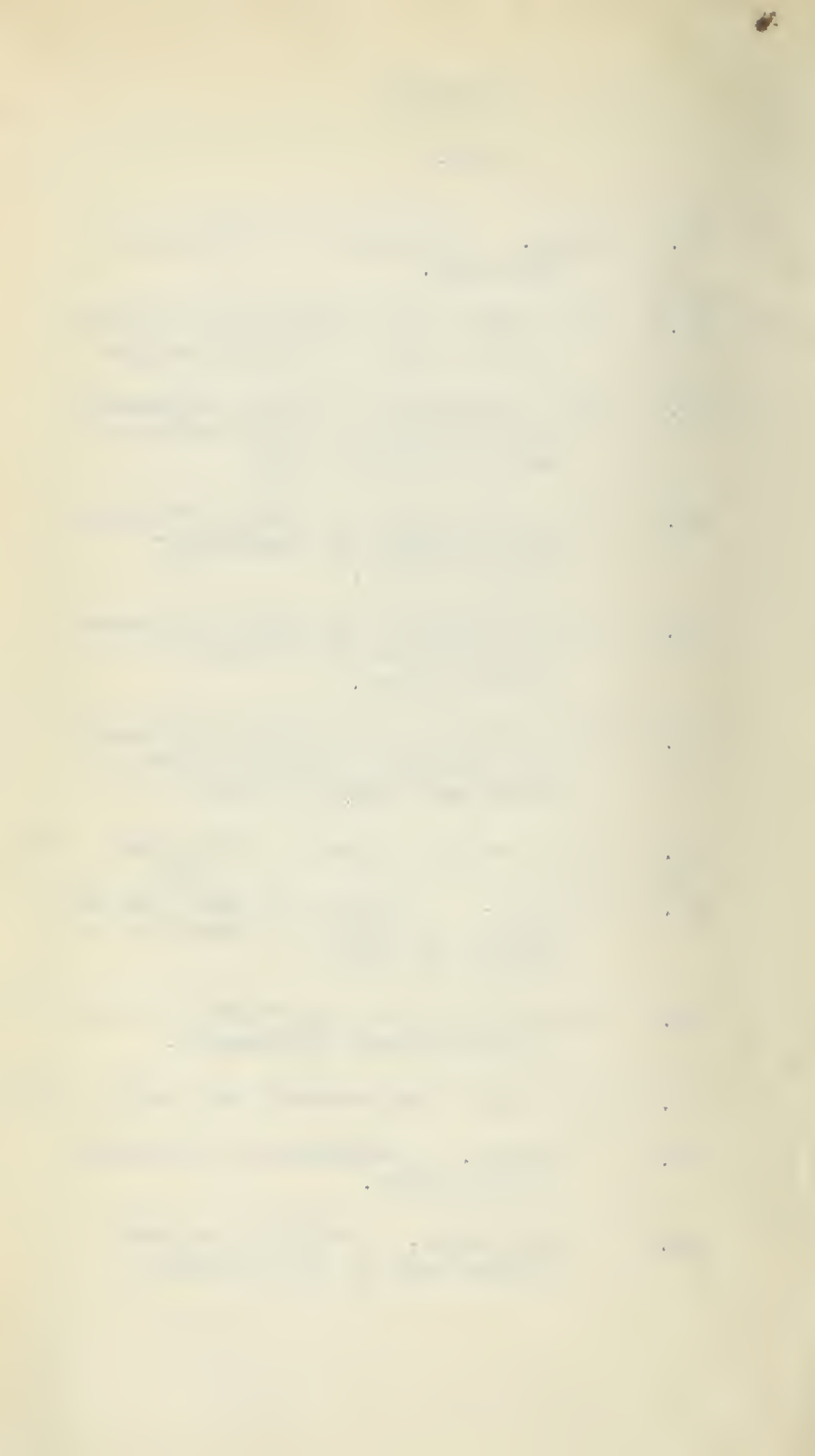
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Changing the Delinquent Attitude

by

ANNA ELIZABETH KING

Published by the
SCHOOL OF APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES
of WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
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Changing the Delinquent Attitude

A Study of Effective Treatment
in the Cases of Forty-four Delinquent Girls

by

ANNA ELIZABETH KING

Supervisor, Cleveland Children's Bureau

Formerly, Visitor, Convent of the Good Shepherd
Cleveland, Ohio

*A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of
Master of Science in Social Adminis-
tration at Western Reserve University*

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Through the interest and generosity of the members of The Catholic Collegiate Association of Cleveland the publication of this thesis has been made possible. Their gift to cover the cost of publication will, it is hoped, become the nucleus of a thesis publication fund for the School of Applied Social Sciences.

It is important that the confidential nature of the personal histories which form the subject matter of this study shall at all times be properly safeguarded. The care which Miss King has exercised in the presentation of the case histories, to prevent possible identification, indicates her deep concern for those whom she serves as a social worker.

In the revision, the judicial treatment and critical analysis of the subject matter which characterized the thesis have, for obvious reasons, been somewhat subordinated to the requirements of publication.

JAMES ELBERT CUTLER, PH.D., *Dean*
School of Applied Social Sciences.

Prefatory Note

This thesis was not written as a flattering comment upon the work of the five Cleveland agencies whose case records were studied. It was rather my purpose to show why successful work with delinquent girls was successful. With my eye directly upon that goal, I selected those cases wherein treatment had brought hopeful and positive results. The organizations who contributed spoke frankly and with detachment of the flaws in treatment which were evident to them, and none claimed the quality of perfection for their work.

Comment has been made that a departure from the usual study has taken place in the attempt to analyze the worker and her place in the situation as well as the client. The worker and her personality are so definitely a part of treatment that they seem to me inseparable from it. It is my thesis, however, that, with the right set of principles, and the right attitude, other workers could obtain equally satisfactory results.

In gathering the material recorded here, I called for assistance upon many people in Cleveland who were in close contact with delinquency as a social welfare problem. This thesis is largely the outgrowth of their philosophy and experience. If space permitted the proper recognition of each individual's contribution, I would be happy to tell in detail just how generously each gave of time, material, and suggestions. Grateful acknowledgment is made not only to those whose names appear below, but also to many others who made interesting and helpful contributions.

Mother Mary of St. John Berchmans, Superior of the Convent of the Good Shepherd, initiated me into work with delinquent girls when she employed me as the Convent's first, full-time, paid social worker. She also granted me permission to take time from my regular duties to devote to this study. During three years' work at the Convent of the Good Shepherd, I had the invaluable opportunity of observing at first hand the practices and methods of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, who had devoted their lives to the work. Although as the Convent's social worker I supervised a number of the Sisters' charges after they returned to their own homes, I obtained the histories for the studies contained herein, from the records at Juvenile Court. This was done in deference to the rule of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, which requires that the

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Sisters shall not make public the history of their charges. All of the histories included are disguised to prevent possible identification.

I wish also to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to the directors and staff of the Juvenile Court of Cuyahoga County, the Women's Protective Association, the Children's Aid Society, and the Catholic Big Sisters; particularly to Miss Sabina Marshall, director of the Women's Protective Association, for her assistance at the time the thesis was in preparation and for her continuing interest; and to members of the Faculty of the School of Applied Social Sciences, especially to Miss Maud Morlock, Director of the Training Course in Child Welfare, under whose direction the study was developed.

ANNA E. KING.

December, 1927.

"There she was, hub of the whole thing, and all they could see of 'er was 'ow she affected 'em personally—one tryin' to get 'er guilty, the other tryin' to get 'er off, and the judge summin' 'er up cold-blooded.

"Ah! But which of them was thinkin', ' 'Ere's a little bit of warm life on its own. 'Ere's a little dancin' creature. What's she feelin', wot's 'er complaint?' Impersonal like. I like to see a man do a bit of speculatin', with his mind off 'imself, for once."

—JOHN GALSWORTHY, in "Windows".

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Table of Contents

I. INTRODUCTION.

- A. Definition and explanation of terms.
 - 1. Delinquent.
 - 2. Delinquent attitude.
- B. Reasons for undertaking this study.
- C. Sources of material.
 - 1. The Children's Aid Society.
 - 2. The Juvenile Court.
 - 3. The Catholic Big Sister Association.
 - 4. The Women's Protective Association.
 - 5. The Convent of the Good Shepherd.
- D. Aims of the Study.
 - 1. To discover how attitudes are changed.
 - 2. To find out how a change may be estimated.
 - 3. To analyze the worker's thinking, ingenuity, and skill.
 - 4. To estimate why girls go right.
- E. Aims of selection.
 - 1. Real social offenders when referred.
 - 2. Successful adjustment shown.
 - 3. Long time treatment preferred.
 - 4. No serious mental defects or abnormalities.
 - 5. Girls in adolescence.
- F. Outline for case study.
 - 1. Problem as first presented.
 - 2. The girl today.
 - 3. Findings.
 - a. Mental and physical.
 - b. Social history.
 - c. Causative factors.
 - d. Diagnosis and prognosis.
 - e. Subsequent treatment.
 - 4. Analysis of approach and response.

II. DISCUSSION OF TECHNIQUE AND METHODS OF

- A. The Children's Aid Society.
- B. The Juvenile Court.
- C. The Catholic Big Sister Association.
- D. The Women's Protective Association.
- E. The Convent of the Good Shepherd.

III. CASE STUDIES SHOWING SUCCESSFUL TREATMENT.

- A. Records studied showing adjustment to reality through the development of insight.
 - 1. Description and discussion of cases illustrative.
- B. Records studied showing adjustment to authority, through the use of the training school, institution, probation and parole.
 - 1. Description and discussion of cases illustrative.
- C. Records studied showing adjustment to girl's own home.
 - 1. Description and discussion of cases illustrative.
- D. Records showing adjustment to a foster home.
 - 1. Description and discussion of cases illustrative.
- E. Records showing adjustment to the group and the achievement of group recognition through vocational or recreational channels.
 - 1. Description and discussion of cases illustrative.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND STATISTICAL FINDINGS.

Changing the Delinquent Attitude

One hundred and forty so-called delinquent girls are housed under the roof of the industrial training school for which I work. None of these girls came because of one unfortunate misstep alone. Each had been fairly launched upon a delinquent career before her commitment, and, during the course of that delinquent career, each had acquired that which I am calling, for the purpose of this study, the delinquent attitude.

But who are the delinquents? Are they the social offenders who are brought into court? And what is this state of mind we call the delinquent attitude?

Miriam Van Waters says¹, "In any society there are certain individuals whose sense of human relationships is underdeveloped, and who tend to offend against and to challenge prevailing standards of human conduct. The number of these individuals vastly increases with civilization. They are recruited from every intelligence level and every social position. Some are strong and well, others are weak and handicapped. They agree on one thing only—it is useless, impossible, or foolish for them to do as their neighbors do in respect to authority, property, industry, chastity, or team play."

These are the delinquents. Through faulty training many of them are honestly in ignorance of just what constitutes the accepted standard of right and wrong. Teaching, taking place through the home, school, church, newspaper, movies, and streets, may be contradictory and confusing. There is everywhere such a difference between teaching and acting, that cynical youth is quick to detect hypocrisy. The delinquent girl may have but the vaguest notions of propriety or may reject the entire ethical code as bosh. She finds a satisfying substitute in the code of her bad companions of the streets. They furnish her a means of getting personal satisfaction without tiresome repression. One day she wakes up to find a policeman escorting her to a girl's detention home—an experience she had feared but had never really imagined would ever be her own. She does not know how it came about, how she ever went so far, nor does she really understand why she should be punished. She would not have done it if she had known "this was the way they treated you".

¹ Miriam Van Waters, "The Delinquent Attitude", *The Family*, Vol. 5, Page 109.

The treatment she receives at this time from family, school, social workers, court, and institution will very largely determine the future of her personality. The deep emotional response she makes to her situation, to the righteous people who complicate that situation, will determine her future social relations.

"Adults are often shocked at the behaviour of adolescents in court. The girl displays an attitude, a compound of insolence, bravado, deep scorn, poise, wit, youthful cunning, and a resourcefulness in lying impossible to describe."²

The delinquent attitude, as pictured here, might be defined as that unconscious disposition of the personality which has resulted from an individual's ignorance, confusion, or rejection of certain ordinarily accepted standards of good conduct, which has been fostered by the individual's acceptance of the code of the streets, and by ill-advised disciplinary treatment at the hands of any or all of those in authority over that individual.^{3, 4}

"Over and over again," says Porter Lee, "the kernel of our problem is the changing of an attitude—an attitude in a client, in a possible cooperator, in the case worker herself . . . In social case work, sound plans of treatment, developed after highly skillful diagnosis, based on facts secured in the most complicated investigations, are failing because fundamental in these plans is the problem of changing human attitudes, and in the task of changing human attitudes, we have thus far been left to our own devices. The race has almost never studied its own experience in order to put the lessons of that experience at the disposal of those who wish to learn how to deal helpfully with others. Subject matter for a study of the art of changing human attitudes must be found in the achievements of social case workers."⁵

This study is entered upon with the purpose of finding out how delinquent attitudes are changed. We hear the fatalistic point of view taken towards our young offenders by those who say that an individual's future is largely determined by forces over which he has little control. In this study we take the point of view that the delinquent is faced by the possibility of choice, and that a skillful

² Miriam Van Waters, "The Delinquent Attitude", *The Family*, July, 1924, Vol. 5, Page 109.

³ Cf. Ernest Bryant Hoag, "Crime, Abnormal Minds and the Law", Pages 29, 31.

⁴ Cf. Bernard Hollander, "The Psychology of Misconduct, Vice and Crime", Pages 141, 152.

⁵ Porter Lee, "A Study of Social Treatment", *The Family*, December, 1923, Vol. 4, Page 191.

social worker can change the delinquent's attitude by herself assuming an attitude of "humble understanding and constructive guidance".⁶

STUDY OF SUCCESSFUL WORK ONLY

We, in social case work, are "fed up" with failures. We are satiated with assertions that preventive work is the only hopeful work. We are fed up on destructive criticism. We want to know what is actually being done today in our community to change denizens of the gullies and gutters into respectable, law-abiding citizens. We want to learn what working methods have been discovered.

This is to be a study of successful work, measured by the changes in attitude, the personality alterations, of the problem girls whose histories form its basis. It proposes to present the girl as the social worker found her, then the new girl of today, and to describe and analyze treatment processes involved in her adjustment.

There are various approaches to the treatment of delinquency. There is the clinic, with its scientific attack which we have all appropriated to some degree; the Juvenile Court, with its methods of probation, commitment, and parole; the protective agency, which acts towards the girl as a friend and counselor; the industrial training school, which has worked out a smooth technique in treatment, since it controls the girl's environment; and the Big Sister Association, the most social of all methods. These agencies are herein represented by the Children's Aid Society, the Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court, Women's Protective Association, the Convent of the Good Shepherd, and the Catholic Big Sisters.

Forty-four records were studied. The groupings herein made, do not follow the type of agency producing them, but are grouped as to type of problem, and similarity of treatment.

To some extent the analysis of cases followed Porter Lee's suggested division into executive acts and acts of leadership. "We need," he declares, "not only the recital of the steps the case worker took, we need revelation of her thinking, her ingenuity, her understanding. We must find our way beyond the records into the thinking and experience of the case workers themselves. Human leadership is the more or less conscious use of certain principles of human relationships, certain ways of meeting reactions, emotions, attitudes of other human beings with whom we have long been familiar, but

⁶ Miriam Van Waters, "The Delinquent Attitude", *The Family*, July, 1924, Vol. 5, Page 109.

which have not been discussed, definitely studied, and made available for conscious selection. Concretely, the problem takes the form of changing attitudes, winning confidence, developing a greater degree of responsiveness, or releasing a client's own powers."⁷

With these facts in mind, the writer has tried not only from intensive study of the case records of the agencies mentioned, but through talks with the case workers themselves, to catch something of the give and take between client and worker, to find out quite as much about the worker's attitude towards her client as about the client's attitude towards the worker, and to determine just what dynamic forces wrought the personality changes. The workers were in several cases frank to state that they themselves had never defined their technique—it was "instinctive"—and yet to anyone reading the records it must have been evident that they moved under certain well-established principles of guidance. Others were able delightfully to define just what took place between themselves and their clients. Perhaps our greatest difficulty was in measuring the change in the girl. The situation which involves the girl is ever variable, and one never knows at which moment complicating factors may appear and partially destroy the patient effort of months. The temporary failures which occur in these cases from time to time may often be the result of defective training and bad habit formation. It is quite possible that some of the girls whose cases are used here as illustrative material, may in the future or in the immediate present fall back into "the delinquent attitude", but in most cases the transformation appeared so genuine, and lasted over so long a period, that an opportunity was given for new habit patterns to be formed. None but successful cases of personality changes in delinquent girls have been studied, if we can accept as a basis for that statement the fact that the general trend of each girl's behaviour has been towards socially acceptable conduct. The basis of selection was determined by these considerations: the girl studied must have been a real social offender before she came to the attention of the social agency; she must have made a successful adjustment while under care; the treatment given must have extended over a period of at least a year; girls with serious mental defects and abnormalities must not be included; a minimum mental age of twelve was adjudged a fair basis; the girl studied must be an adolescent at the time she was first presented for treatment.

⁷ Porter Lee, "A Study of Social Treatment", *The Family*, December, 1923, Vol. 4, Page 191.

FIVE GROUPS OF ADJUSTMENTS

Fifteen cases were taken as a basis of intensive study and presentation. They were grouped under five classifications: (a) those showing, preeminently, adjustment made to reality through the development of insight,⁸ and through "transfer", with subsequent development of personality and the growth of new relationships; (b) those showing adjustment to authority through commitment, institutional life, probation and parole; (c) those showing adjustment to the group and the achievement of group recognition through recreational outlets and successful vocational achievement; (d) those showing adjustment to the girl's own home in which she had previously been in conflict; and (e) those showing adjustments made to a new environment in a foster home.

Agencies Methods of Procedure

In reading the records of the five agencies whose work was a basis of this study, the worker found as time went on that she was analyzing the study from the standpoint of case work methods involved rather than from the standpoint of the agency's particular technique. There was demonstrated a similarity of method in dealing with problem girls which might be summed up in two words: psychiatric approach. Each agency showed an effort was being made to get at the basis of the girl's difficulty and to furnish her with normal outlets for her energies.

In order to give a proper background for the case studies which follow, certain modes of procedure peculiar to each organization might be described here.

THE CLINIC

Seven studies are included from the records of Children's Aid Society, which agency treats the girl as a clinical problem, bringing to bear upon her difficulties the combined knowledge of psychiatrist, psychologist, physician, social worker, and matron. The last named brings to the study an intimate knowledge of the child gained from daily association, while the others bring a specialized knowledge and a more or less objective point of view.

A most refreshing feature of the work was the child's voluntary return to talk over problems with the psychiatrist, feeling sure of a sympathetic listener who would not censure but encourage. The

⁸ Cf. Miriam Van Waters, "How They Make Good", *The Survey*, Oct. 1, 1924, Vol. 53, Page 39.

psychiatrist's appeal to these children seems to have been made on a practical or expedient rather than upon an ethical basis. He did not believe in arousing conflict in the child through sense of shame, but he did believe in helping the child to face his own conduct as something unsatisfying and unnecessary. Education in mental hygiene in this case had the necessary therapeutic effect upon the youngster.

THE JUVENILE COURT

During three years' contact with the Juvenile Court, the writer has observed an increasing tendency on the part of the probation officers to use mental clinics to help solve the problems of their charges. Other agencies, recreational and character building, have been asked to assist the busy court officers in the work of probation and parole. The Juvenile Court is in touch with more delinquent children than any other agency, public and private, in the city. Many children in the course of the year are referred to the Juvenile Court, return home, and nothing further is heard about them. Quiet probationary work goes on over a period of time. The court record shows that, after a number of "follow up" calls in the home, the case has been closed. However, ask the probation officer for the full story. Each court worker carries such a heavy load of new cases that it is impossible for him or her to write long case histories on "follow ups". The tendency is definitely towards fuller probationary records, which is greatly to be desired. Probation officers see their charges at least once a month. The more serious type of "delinquent" is sent to the Convent of the Good Shepherd or to the State Industrial School at Delaware, while the City Farm for Girls provides for a small number of girls whose delinquency is in an early stage. Of the five court records recommended for reading, two girls had been sent to the Convent of the Good Shepherd and three to the City Farm for Girls. There were no follow up records of girls sent to the State Industrial School.

THE BIG SISTER

Nine of the records of the Catholic Big Sister Association were studied. This organization had been in existence only two years at the time this study was begun. The Big Sisters employ an executive secretary who is a social worker employed full time to do case work with difficult girls and develop the Catholic Big Sister movement.

The Big Sister assumes a responsibility for the Little Sister's use of her own leisure time, supervises her spending money and sees that she keeps up the practice of her religion. In the Catholic Big

Sister group, the organization supplies regular organized recreation for the Little Sisters, thus eliminating part of the Big Sister's problem. Personal contact between the Big and Little Sister is maintained outside of the group by visits to each other's homes, shopping trips, movies, outings, concerts, special projects built around the Little Sister's interests, and a mutual camp experience.

Each summer the Big and Little Sisters spend two weeks in summer camp. In this rustic retreat the Little Sisters acquired a feeling of group unity which was to them something entirely new. Following their first summer camp experience, they organized their own club, which they called, "The Sunshine Makers' Club", and proceeded to elect officers and hold monthly meetings.

Now one evening a week Little and Big Sisters meet for group recreation under the leadership of a trained worker. The Little Sisters who do housework have no difficulty in determining how they shall spend their "evening off". Once a month the girls go on hikes, and at holiday times, big parties are given.

All of the Big Sister records studied illustrate the fact that the girls under care improved greatly through the influence of the group. They came to their first evening's recreation overdressed, ill at ease, and boisterous in manner. Their Big Sisters have noticed that the Little Sisters now dress more quietly, have "toned down" their voices and complexions, and are quite at ease with one another.

As the theory elsewhere seems to be to absorb the problem girl into groups of more normal girls, rather than bringing her into constant association with other problem girls, Big Sister organizations in other localities are watching, with interest, this demonstration of successful group work with problem girls. The girls referred to the Big Sister organizations are not usually serious problems but girls just on the verge of real delinquency.

The work of the Big Sister is volunteer work, and must be directed by trained social workers. Each year the Big Sisters take a course of instruction in their work, as well as instruction in group leadership. The spirit of real friendship and personal sacrifice brought to the work by the Catholic Big Sisters has been the moving force in the growth of the movement. The first group parties were attended by some twenty-five or thirty Little Sisters. Today the meetings are usually attended by eighty or more. The group work, where concrete and obvious results can be shown, has undoubtedly helped to carry on the Big Sister's interest in her individual contacts. Others

are able to see that her friendship has wrought a real change in the life and personality of the Little Sister. The individual work with the girl is far more important than the group work, but if the Big Sister is left to work out her problem without the stimulus of others' experience, and without seeing the results achieved by other Big Sisters, she may grow easily discouraged, minimize what she is doing, and lose sight of the big objective.

THE PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

The Women's Protective Association has a wide scope of activity. I am attempting to analyze only the protective worker's approach to the problem and her technique. I admired the direct and simple approach which the organization made to every problem girl. It seemed to me that this attitude might be summed up thus: "Here is the girl. Here is her problem. What can we do for her?" In each situation the diagnostic recommendations of the psychologist directed the case worker's thinking. Causations were pointed out and avenues of treatment suggested.

Protective workers endeavor to make their charges feel that they are friends, not dictators. The forces of authority are seldom used.⁹ Rather, skill and expertness are employed to get the girl to see the benefit derived from companionship with an older, more experienced person. The girl is spared in so far as possible the humiliation of a court experience. If she commits an offense, the worker does not threaten, but makes an effort to get at the root of the difficulty and to draw the solution from the girl herself.

One difficulty encountered in long time treatment is that workers often leave organizations or are transferred to other work while treatment is in process. In Case No. 10, not presented here for detailed study, this difficulty was skillfully circumvented. The first worker, who was leaving the organization, took the girl out in her car with the second worker, whom she introduced as a friend. The girl was made to feel that both women took a personal interest in her. She went just as willingly to call upon her new friend as she had to call upon the old.

Girls referred to the organization are most frequently given special care and physical examination at Sterling House, a temporary home. The girl who remains there for any length of time receives valuable training in housekeeping, hygiene, etc. Certain girls who

⁹ Cf. Lucy Wright, "Worker's Attitude as an Element in Social Case Work", *Family*, Vol. 5, Page 104.

cannot go to their own homes are allowed to board at Prospect Club and go to work. This club is an attractive boarding home operated under the direction of the association. One worker is assigned to look after all the girls at the club and none of the girls report to the office of the organization. Every possible factor which will make the girl self reliant and self supporting, is used. Hopeful cases of problem girls are often referred to the Big Sister Council for care. The office then closes its record, and the Big Sister Council, operating separately, assigns the girl to a particular Big Sister.

THE INSTITUTION

The Convent of the Good Shepherd has a psychologically sound technique of procedure, which was worked out ninety-seven years ago by the Mother Foundress of the Community of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, namely, Mother Mary of St. Euphrasia Pelletier. The writer has read the little book, compiled in 1897, by Sister Mary of St. Marine Verger, which contains the Mother Foundress' practical rules for the direction of classes. It appears that this little book contains nothing which is today in conflict with the ideas of psychiatrists concerning the treatment of social offenders.

"Speak little and punish rarely," said the Mother Foundress.¹⁰ "Win the children by manners contrary to that to which they have been accustomed in the past. It is best to treat the rudest of these poor children with the finest consideration and the greatest delicacy. Spare them anything that would excite them to impatience or dishearten them. They are always morbidly sensitive. One offensive word may leave a wound kindness cannot heal. Avoid using contemptuous, humiliating terms, reproaching a child for defects she cannot correct.

"Proud persons have a great repugnance to asking pardon. It is often better not to oblige them to do it. The slightest show of contempt drives such persons to revolt. Public reprimands are generally unprofitable. These children are more easily touched by being shown that their faults render their good qualities useless.

"Authority is a certain air, a certain ascendancy which commands respect. It is neither age nor stature nor tone of voice, but a character of the mind equal, firm, always self-possessed, guided by reason, never acting by caprice or passion. Do not expose yourself to being disobeyed or treated with disrespect. Observe your children, learn

¹⁰ "Practical Rules for the Religious of the Good Shepherd", Sister Mary of St. Marine Verger, 1897, Caens, France.

from them. Each class, as well as each individual, has a peculiar character which should be observed and studied. Give the children praise when you can. The fewer restraints placed upon the children the more effectual they will be."

All these maxims are still consciously put in use today by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. The institution has opened its doors to the public, inviting occasional visitations in order to let supporters know what work is being done daily within its walls. The Sisters have asked recreational leaders, expert physicians, psychologists, club leaders, orchestra leaders, Red Cross teachers, and others to assist in the work. The spirit of the institution has been that of progress, yet its valuable heritage of experience has been utilized to the fullest extent.

The therapeutic influence of the Convent lies in its regularity and sanity of living and in the wholesome discipline of regular work. Every girl works, but no girl works eight hours a day. There is school, religious instruction, orchestra practice, dramatics, campfire, organized recreation, physical education, to break the day's monotony. The girls receive the best of medical care. The institution maintains its own venereal clinic.

The white-robed Sisters are called "Mothers", and the girls confide to them a great deal more than most mothers ever have an opportunity to hear.

The big appeal made to the adolescent girl by this institution is, of course, a religious one. It must be noted that the girls are never made to feel a sense of shame or sorrow for what has occurred in the past. Each girl knows that she is judged and esteemed only by her conduct in the house. The hardened, rough-voiced, world-weary, child-woman who enters the institution, invariably goes out looking like a little girl again and with the weight of worry lifted from her shoulders. The work begun by the Convent is carried on so far as possible by the Sisters' own social worker, who takes a certain number of girls "on parole" and endeavors to carry out the recommendations of the institution in work, play, health, recreation, education, and character building. The Convent's social worker makes an effort to fit the girl's home for her return.

The most notable adjustment that these so called "incorrigibles" make at the Convent is the adjustment to authority. Case after case comes to the social worker's attention with the same complaint from parents and from the school. "She cannot be managed. No one

can do anything with her." The Sisters take care of one hundred and fifty unmanageables at a time and manage to keep themselves and the girls serene. Each new girl, suspicious and resentful at first, must be won over to see that she will be treated with justice and impartiality in this house. After a month or two she is absorbed into the group. The discipline these girls get is not contained so much in the punishment meted out by the Sisters for small offenses, but it is in the necessity of working diligently, steadily, and perfectly. The girl who has never done anything in her life with regularity or thoroughness must do it in the Convent of the Good Shepherd.

There are plenty of instances of untrained girls who, given a number of chances "on probation", did not make good until they had received training in an institution. It takes a wise judge to know whether the particular girl appearing before him needs institutional training.

Case Studies

Now for a consideration of the five groups of cases most typical of the particular kind of adjustment made. It is understood that these cases are typical of more than one kind of readjustment, but that the diagnosis was based upon the fundamental need. For example, many girls who gained insight into their personal problems were able thereby to make a better adjustment in their own homes; girls who found satisfactory outlets through recreation and vocation also adapted themselves to their own homes and to foster homes; while the girl in rebellion against authority not only learned to accept authority but also learned to accept her parents, friends, and co-workers in an harmonious relationship. This classification is arbitrary and the reader is hereby given permission to differ with the diagnosis wheresoever he pleases. The fact that the adjustment is made is the essential thing.

Adjusting to Reality

The first group of cases includes three girls who made an adjustment to reality because of developed insight into their own personality problems. Only three cases were selected to illustrate each group, making a total of fifteen out of forty-four studied.

Case No. 7. D was eighteen, tall, blond, slight, with regular features and an erect carriage. She bore herself with more than

a hint of bravado when she was brought into the presence of the social worker by the department store detective. While employed by the store in question, she had destroyed sales checks amounting to \$700 and had pocketed part of the money, giving the remainder to an older woman, also a store employee. With her share of the money, D ran away to Chicago, but was apprehended upon her return. She would not tell why she had taken the money nor would she display any repentance. When it was arranged that she should pay the money back to the store in small sums, D shrugged her shoulders and declared that just as soon as the money was paid back she would, "beat it out of town and have one wild time."

D's home was a rather dismal one, with a foreign atmosphere. The mother came from poor stock and showed evidence of much mental instability. Her father was dead. His people were respectable and of rather high standards. D was the only girl; there were four brothers. D's mother had formerly been very indulgent but recently her attitude had completely changed. She had become very suspicious of D, accused her of bad sex practices, insulted her with vile language, and insisted that she hand over all of her money.

D had a mental age of 14 years and 7 months and an intelligence quotient of 97. The psychologist felt that her poor home conditions were enough to account for the trouble. She showed initiative, it was felt, and might go far with the proper vocational placement. D was much under par physically. Soon afterwards, the dispensary diagnosed her trouble as acute inflammation of the heart and the doctors gave her only a few months to live.

Today, five years later, D is employed during the day at skilled factory work and in the evening has a part time job. Her earnings vary from \$36 to \$51 a week. One year ago she had paid back in full the sum she had embezzled from the department store. She did not, however, go off on "one wild time"; she continued to stick to her job, to her family, and to the social worker.

She is at present buying a thousand dollar bond, on her own initiative. She pays her mother \$12 a week board. She belongs to two Christmas clubs. Never a week goes by without a gift to her mother of some article of clothing or a present for the house. Through her the menage has acquired a parrot, two dogs, and two canaries. D has become very domestic. When she is home for the evening, she scrubs the floors and does the family washing. D's mother has become obsessed with the delusion that a member of her family has committed a crime. She hides the hatchet back of the bathroom door. D often wakes up in the middle of the night to find her mother bending over her threateningly. She laughingly says that if anything will affect her weak heart, that will. The worker advised the girl to have her mother sent to a

hospital for mental patients, but D declared that since she had caused her mother so much trouble in her younger days, it would be the least she could do thereafter to make her as comfortable and happy at home as it was possible for her to be. Her mother still abuses D with vile language, telling her that she is being immoral. D does not resent this talk. She quietly accepts it, realizing that her mother is not to be blamed for her delusions.

D makes her own clothes, having learned to sew at night school, and she always appears well-dressed. When the worker suggested reading books on etiquette, D bought and painstakingly digested them. She joined a political club and referred proudly to its socially prominent members as "our women." D often accompanies the worker when the latter calls on her friends, and conducts herself with such dignity and poise that no one suspects she was a "charge" of the worker. D frequently takes her co-workers to lunch with the social worker and asks the latter's opinion of them later. One of these girls had never handled her own money, been able to save a cent, or possess any nice clothes. D budgeted the girl's earnings and made her start a bank account. Then D bodily transported the family of an ineffectual little friend, recently widowed, to her own home and bathtub in order to give them a good scrubbing. "She's the poorest manager I ever saw," D declared. "She thinks a bathtub is a place to stuff clothes."

On one occasion, the social worker was unable immediately to take home two runaway girls who had been caught shoplifting and brought into the office of her organization. D offered to bring them home, and when she arrived at their respective homes, proceeded to tell their mothers all about their difficulties. She returned to the worker with a report on the exact status of the home conditions and neighborhood, showing a remarkable grasp of the problems presented.

The worker felt that the roughness and occasional toughness which D exhibited, was merely a defense employed by a genuinely timid nature and was used in order that the girls with whom she worked might not ridicule her for being, "High Hat." D would not admit her eagerness for improvement, but she never overlooked a casually dropped suggestion. When certain books were mentioned as good reading, she was likely to turn up her nose and laugh, but later on to drop a remark that would show she had, nevertheless, read the books suggested. She had a key to the worker's house and took complete charge of it during the latter's vacations. When the worker and her husband stayed to work late, D frequently went home and got supper for them. She threatened now and then to go on "wild parties" but the worker generally found on the night of the threatened wild parties that she needed D's assistance badly, and D never refused it. The girl ceased to drink and to smoke. The worker occasionally went

through D's handbag in her presence, and, finding cigarettes, crumpled them up and threw them out of the window, laughing at D's discomfiture.

At first the girl had an annoying habit of telling disgusting stories. The worker tolerated this as long as she felt it was wise, then sharply rebuked her. D laughed, colored, and thanked the worker, saying she had never realized before how offensive she had been. She often remarked, "I'm glad of two things—I'm glad I was caught, and I'm glad you stopped me." In her frequent letters to the worker, D addressed her as "Mother". At one time D had an attentive admirer, about whom she asked the worker's opinion. When the worker gave her an unfavorable estimate, she, "just went home and tied the can to him."

Discussion: To analyze the change in D, it is necessary to get at the causative factors. Here we have a very timid, sensitive girl, affectionate, high spirited, deeply troubled because of the bewildering loss of her mother's affection, in which she had so long been secure, craving constantly a substitute and a confidante. An older woman at the store became her mother substitute. Her affection for this woman was the sole cause of her misdemeanor, as her new friend taught her the trick with the sales' checks. "If I had known what it might have meant to other girls, I should have told, but I thought it was yellow then," she explained. Her "running around", her restlessness, her drinking and smoking, were all part of a desire to escape from her unhappy home and find security and satisfaction elsewhere.

D really selected her own social worker. The two met when the worker was sewing on a dress. D asked if she could learn to sew and was asked to come to the worker's house for a lesson. Another worker had been assigned to the case, but the organization, finding that D had chosen her friend, directed the original worker only to receive the money which D was paying back to the department store, and to permit the other worker to supervise the girl. The new worker was a woman of much vitality, full of good spirits, fun, and steady common sense. It was her friendly, breezy manner to which D instantly responded.

This woman became to D a real mother, confidante, and friend. She went with the girl direct to the source of her mother conflict, and helped D to understand her mother's condition, then to understand her own behavior resulting from the withdrawal of her mother's love and approval. The girl was interested and understanding. The worker made the girl see how she herself appeared

in the eyes of the rest of the world and by herself furnishing an example of excellent, wholesome womanhood, made D desire to be like her. Talking over the problems of other girls gave D an insight into the difficulties of all adolescents. It seemed no longer a matter of cruel parents and abused daughters. D watched others with a sympathetic and tolerant feeling and tried to help them over their difficulties as she had been helped. Such a girl does excellent, if quiet, publicity work for any organization. The worker, through introducing D to her own friends, gave her the standards of another social group.

From the first the social worker assures me she took the attitude, "You have just as much sense as I have, go ahead and use your own judgment . . . If you want to go on wild parties, there is nothing for me to worry about—it is your own concern." Yet unobtrusively this woman found substitute outlets for her charge. She did not say, "You must not do this." Results were achieved through suggestion. The two made a game of running up a bank account. Little thoughtful actions brought much pleasure to the attention loving girl. The worker sometimes took her on a hike, brought her to lunch, gave her pretty Christmas gifts, and celebrated her birthday with a real birthday cake. It is interesting to note that these attentions were given in a matter of fact way. No "fuss" was made over the girl, no flattery took place, and she was not deluded by false praise. The worker gave her approval through continued interest and companionship and not through patronizing, verbal praise.

D found in her treatment an adjustment to reality through the ministrations of a confidante who took the place of both mother and friend. She acquired a perspective upon her problems, and cheerfully accepted her mother as her responsibility. The worker warned her of the danger she lived in because of her mother's deluded state, and was able to guard the girl to a certain extent from possible harm by her warning. New ideals, new interests, new standards of living were gained through the contacts opened up by the worker. She gained a knowledge of mental problems, which would explain her own poor behavior as well as her mother's strange actions. When D gained insight, she was no longer the victim of her own uncomprehended, vacillating emotion, but became aware of the things which moved her. Even without the assistance of the worker, she would now be able to meet other crises in her life with a sense of self confidence.

D's official contact with the organization ceased some time ago. The worker did not feel that her friendship need cease at the same time. The continued contact cost the organization nothing. If the worker had left her charge dependent upon her, the worker's removal at any time might have left the girl drifting, and her adjustment would have been as steadfast as a house of cards. The writer feels that the girl built up many other interests and developed many other friends to occupy her attention and fill her needs should the worker ever withdraw from the picture. D has not effected a complete transfer from the worker to a sweetheart, or to another friend, but is this necessary? Has not a case worker who develops real friendship with her clients a continuing obligation as a friend?

Case No. 37. N was fifteen, a slender, merry girl with a peaked face and winsome manner. She was laughing and unashamed as the big policeman handed her over smilingly to the institution to which she had been committed by the Juvenile Court on a charge of immorality. N had left home at the age of thirteen and had been illegally employed at housework ever since that time. Her immoralities had been frequent. Following her departure from home, she had been quite willing to be intimate with anyone who asked her. After a gruesome experience, she was picked up by the police. In spite of all that had happened to her, she was trusting, good-humored and affectionate, with no regard for her family, and unconcerned about that which had happened to her. After two years in an institution, she was placed at work, but within four months was returned again by the court, freely admitting that on three different occasions she had had intercourse with acquaintances casually made. N's attitude, however, had changed. She distrusted herself, feared her future, blamed her family for their indifference, and said that an older girl was responsible for getting her into difficulty immediately upon her release from the institution. She was despondent, brooded over her past, and wanted her mother's affection and attention as she had never wanted them before.

N was born in Bohemia. She was three years old when her parents left her in the old country in care of the paternal grandmother, while they went to America to make a home. The father's family were thrifty, hard working, aggressive people. Her father was a wizened, shifty, unattractive person. Her mother was bitter, shrewd, grasping, money mad. The two saved, bought property, cared well for their other three children, and sent for N when she was nine years old—after six years of separation had intervened. N declares she will always remember the cold kiss her mother gave her when she met her at the boat. The mother has, so far as the visitor knows, never displayed the least bit of affection towards the girl. She was told she was "bad" and at thirteen

turned out to work. The younger sister at fifteen left the home to join a cheap vaudeville troupe. Relatives were prosperous, but none of them wished to help N. The girl's accusation that her father had had intercourse with her was never proven, but it served to estrange all her people from her. The mother in particular showed real pleasure in learning the Juvenile Court had made a commitment of the girl to a corrective institution.

N was normal in mentality. Her eyesight was defective. The psychiatrist found her neurotic. He suggested definite interests along recreational lines, to keep her from brooding. He also felt that she should have the companionship of girls her own age to help her adjust herself as well as the friendship of an older, steadier, well-adjusted woman.

Five years later, N is happily married and is living in a little "flat" in a good neighborhood. Her husband knows of all her past difficulties. Nothing was kept from him by N. Between the two there exists a real understanding and a fine consideration. N's husband does not like to have her refer to what is past nor to associate with her former companions. She takes the greatest pride in her house, being an immaculate housewife and a thrifty one. She still broods, on occasions, over her family's lack of affection and interest, but is better able to throw it off than ever before. She likes to boast about her brother and his career, feeling obscurely that this adds dignity to her status. For the first time in her life, her thoughts are fully occupied. She says that she never dreamed she could enjoy married life as she does. She is delighted to be able to show her husband a tidy house, a rosy, well-cared for baby, and a smiling face. Fortunately, N's husband is of quite a different disposition than N, and he has a happy way of joking about catastrophes which will occur in any new menage. The two declare that they rarely quarrel. N's husband's relatives have taken her into the family as their own. They have many friends and the girl seems to need no other companionship. She is very pleased when the Big Sisters come to call upon her. Her husband is extremely cooperative and regards the visitor as his friend as well as N's. N dresses with quiet taste. She appears now a dignified, rather womanly young matron, in contrast with the giddy little hoyden of three or four years ago.

The visitor placed N in a wage home upon her release from the institution for the second time. The employer was a woman who expected to be obeyed. She watched over N very strictly. She had a real affection for the girl and talked to her constantly about the wisdom of making a good marriage and finding the right man. She held the girl to account for the quality of her work and for the hours she kept. N never felt that the home was her home, but she did respect the employer and she did obey her. On only one occasion did N stay out later than ten o'clock in the evening, and this was with the visitor's permission.

Contacts with the visitor took place once or twice a week. Sometimes the two went to dinner together, to the movies, or to parties. Confidence was established by friendly, off-hand talks, and references to sex matters were always made in a matter-of-fact, impersonal way. The visitor told the girl she hoped to see her married, but thought her standards of choice for a husband ought to be pretty high. N's first reaction was all against marriage. She said she could not stand the thought of living with a man, because she associated with marriage some of the perverted sex practices she herself had been taught. The worker used every opportunity to slip into the conversation information about happy married life as an ideal and wholesome affair. She also made it a point to take the girl where she might observe happy home life. N fitted her manners to the occasion and was always accepted and admired by her husband's friends.

N contrived means to get the visitor to meet the new beaux she had acquired through association with another girl working in a nearby home. She would ask the worker's opinion about them afterwards and would make no further dates with them if that opinion were quite unfavorable. When N met her husband-to-be, she brought him to the visitor's house and a friendly relationship was at once established. After they became engaged, he arranged at once with the visitor to help N save her money so that she would have enough to buy the right kind of bridal dress and trousseau.

Before her marriage, N begged for more freedom, and was allowed to find work of a different sort, going to board with another family. She continued to work but showed considerable strain. The visitor called upon her at her boarding house one day and found the girl crying. She told the visitor that she was afraid to marry. She was taken to a dispensary and learned from the doctor there that it was quite safe for her to marry. She gradually told her fiance all about her past, including her father's part in her experiences, so that their married life started on a basis of complete confidence. Before the wedding, the Big Sisters gave a dinner and shower for her. The wedding was celebrated in church and attended only by the groom and his family, the former employer, and the Big Sisters.

When N became pregnant, she arranged for prenatal care from the same doctor who had advised her when she went to the dispensary. She saved weekly so that she could pay her hospital and doctor bill in full when the baby was delivered. It had been "like pulling teeth" to get her to save while she was single, but it seemed no effort at all once she had a home of her own and a reason for saving beyond her own needs. N made all the baby clothes herself.

N has kept up contacts with the visitor as with a friend, and not as someone in authority over her, though she was paroled to

the visitor. N says that her husband tells her they owe their present happiness and security in large measure to the employer and to the social worker.

Discussion: N felt from the first that the visitor was her Big Sister, although she recognized her authority as a parole officer. But N was childish and dependent. Without a firm hand to guide her she probably would have lost no time getting into new difficulties. The visitor from the first determined the hours the girl might keep, the recreation she might choose, and her employment. The employer enforced all rules to the letter. It was not until new and wholesome interests were developed, and with the aid of the fiance assured, that the visitor relaxed supervision. The fiance was so thoroughly responsible a person that it was possible to make him feel he was held accountable for the use of N's leisure time.

The girl willingly accepted the worker's close supervision. Indeed, she seemed to expect it, and, for a time, to be quite unable to make her own decisions. Perhaps the worker's faith in her charge's ability to make good out of the institution as well as in, made the girl feel that the worker was truly her friend, and the girl wished to demonstrate that the worker's confidence was justified.

Her pride in showing other folks that she could make good was one of N's strongest incentives to good conduct. Her family's contempt acted as another spur. The girl used first the institutional workers, then the visitor, and lastly her fiance as substitutes for father and mother. Her fiance assumed a protective attitude from the start and N depended upon him for direction as she had depended upon others. It was always an older person to whom N turned for advice.

Criticism may well be made that the treatment N received was likely to make her dependent, and might not help the development of her personality. The visitor's only defense is that N was still undeveloped and childlike when she first came to the worker's attention. Today the girl is saving money, running her own home, caring for husband and baby, making friends, entertaining, and handling her own affairs with a dignity and poise of which she would have been incapable three years previously. Recognition by such a social group as her husband's friends, and by the Big Sisters, was necessary before N could gain self confidence and break away from her former dependency. N's conflict over her own sex experience and her father's treatment of her, was helped by discussing it freely with

the visitor and acquiring from others a more wholesome idea of the place of sex in life.

The Big Sisters perhaps befriended this girl at a psychologically important moment, when she was in the institution, neglected by her family, in need of friendship, surrounded by the interest and intelligent care of the institutional workers, it is true, but with no individuals interested in her outside of the institution except the Big Sisters.

Case No. 12. K was a slight brunette, tomboyish, in appearance, quite self conscious in movement, rather selfish and jealous, warm hearted and emotional. She had written an obscene letter to her sewing teacher, pretending to be a man, and inviting this teacher to have intercourse with her. The clinic was asked to study the child.

K had been doing rather poor work in school, having been transferred from a country school to an accelerated division of a big city high school. She was impertinent in the classroom, making remarks about her teachers. The other girls did not care for her and she paid no attention to boys. Her only friend was a crippled girl, a Pollyanna type, of whom she said, "I'd like to slap even her sometimes." K seemed to hate everybody and everything and to state so frequently. She said there was no one in the world in whom she could confide. She had no ambition, unless it was the expressed one of "being wicked." She loved variety and excitement. K was careless in personal habits and slovenly in appearance.

The girl lived with her married sister, an attractive, ambitious woman who had a responsible position in a store. The home with her sister had only been hers for a short time. When K was four, her mother, a hard drinker, immoral, and abusive, was sent to the hospital with an alcoholic psychosis. She escaped, and later, it was reported, died. The father was a frequent deserter. It was said that he "never drew a sober breath." An older sister was placed with K in an institution. This older girl, who later became a prostitute, taught K much sex knowledge of an unwholesome sort. D, the next older sister, with whom K afterwards lived, struck out for herself and through sheer pluck and determination, made good. T, a younger sister, stayed in the institution with K. When the latter was thirteen, the two children were placed in a poor type of boarding home in a rural district, where K learned much filthy talk and was generally neglected. D, coming to visit her, took her summarily from the home and assumed full charge. Later, D took T also. K was very happy to have a home, but she soon began to quarrel with her older sister and to pick fights with T, of whom she was bitterly jealous.

Physical examination showed that K was much undernour-

ished. The psychiatrist believed she had a sex complex, probably somewhat homosexual in nature. Her often professed claim to despise men was believed to be defensive, as her talk revealed a deep interest in sex. She rated normal in intelligence, having a life age of 14.5, a mental age of 15.4, and an Intelligence Quotient of 106. The psychiatrist believed she should continue to live with her sister and associate with boys and girls of her own age, correcting her antagonistic tendencies.

Today, two years later, K is getting good marks in school and has her own select crowd of girl friends. She is attending another high school which is attended by children coming for the most part from good families. The school standards are high and K is measuring up to them quite satisfactorily. Whenever quarrels occur at home, (K is now in a wage home) K comes either to worker or psychiatrist to talk over her problems. The worker lives near her home and the contact has been a close one. The girl has improved greatly in appearance, having made an effort to dress neatly and becomingly. She takes much interest in her new abilities—cooking, marketing, and housekeeping. She has become quite a leader in the school. Her own special “crowd” like her very well. She made strenuous efforts to curb her temper in order to keep on good terms with them. There has been no further bad sex talk and K appears to have no worries over sex matters. She keeps better hours and has gained in weight.

The first method employed with K was a direct approach by the psychiatrist to her mental life. She was told that she was a normal girl, and therefore interested in boys, as every normal girl should be. There was no necessity for concealing this fact. Sex, she was assured, was a universal matter, and it was possible for sex to be clean, wholesome, fine. No blame was attached to K's conduct, the psychiatrist treating all that as quite childish and unimportant. In subsequent talks with her, the psychiatrist was able to praise her improvement and note the change in her manners and attitude. K showed that she believed her low marks in school came from “dumbness”. The psychiatrist told her there was no good reason that she could not get satisfactory marks. After each talk with the psychiatrist K was able to show a report card with better marks. The girl acknowledged that she did not go about making friends in the right way, and that she really craved companionship. Her hot temper, she thought, and her desire to tease people, kept her from getting companionship. She wanted to know how to get over being self conscious. K acknowledged her jealousy of her little sister, who got most of the praising and petting at home which K herself craved.

The girl, on the psychiatrist's advice, went out after friends and got them. She adopted the habit of praising her little sister and taking pride in her. The one thing in which she was most unsuccessful was her relationship to her elder sister. K admired

this sister passionately, but the sister was unable to acquire enough insight into K's difficulties to put up with her temper. It was arranged to transfer K to a wage home. This was accomplished without hurting K's feelings as the elder sister was planning to move out of the city and the change was made on the pretext of permitting K to continue with her school.

The social worker at the clinic followed up the psychiatrist's talk with a straight medical talk on the subject of sex. The worker was married. She allowed K to visit often at her home. K seemed to appreciate the affection which existed between the worker and her husband and to admire their home life. She picked up information about housekeeping from watching the worker and marveled because the latter took as much pains in preparing dinner for herself and her husband as she did when she had guests. When K came to the worker's home dressed in a neat middie and skirt, in contrast to the sleeveless georgette dress she had been wearing, the worker was quick to praise the change, saying she loved to see school girls dressed as K was. The record later stated that K's sister remarked K always wore middies and skirts to school since knowing the visitor.

One evening when K was calling on the social worker, she stayed late, lingering, although the worker urged her to get home early. She said, with bravado, that she was never afraid on the streets alone. The worker agreed that there was not much danger, but that of course really nice people never were seen out late alone. K left soon after that remark, saying she did not want the worker to worry about her.

For several weeks at one time, K stayed away from the worker. The latter found out from her sister that the child had been getting poor marks. The visitor found occasion to ask K over to help with preparations for a party. Of course, the tale about the marks soon came out, and K ceased to avoid the visitor.

When there were conflicts in K's sister's home, the worker was always called in to act as referee. She worked patiently with the family for a year before removing K. It was unfortunate that the married sister did not see further into K's needs, for the girl was much brighter and more hopeful than the much petted T. T was a constant irritant to K. The older sister's husband could not endure their quarreling.

K was most enthusiastic about any plan into which she was taken from the beginning. She liked best to be treated as a companion. She often said that the people at the clinic were the only people who really cared about what happened to her.

K has been getting along satisfactorily in her wage home and shows no resentment towards her family.

Discussion: K had a handicap of a bad prenatal influence. She learned in her childhood some vile language, and some misinforma-

tion about sex. Her stay in the orphanage for nine years, neglected by her family, left her with a conviction of not being wanted. She had no outlet for her affections, no father and mother substitute, and no real companions. There were irritative mental reactions to environmental conditions; adolescent instabilities; dissatisfactions and cravings she did not know how to satisfy. Her desire for attention found expression in seeking unfavorable attention. Her sex conflict may have started from a deep disgust, a reaction to all the filth to which she had been exposed.

K's inferiority feelings caused her to avoid rather than seek companionship, although she craved affection. In her talks with the psychiatrist she was at first scared, fearful of a scolding she never got. Instead, she received praise for her efforts, a detached consideration for her freely confessed weaknesses, and was assured of the psychiatrist's faith in her and his confidence that she could make good. Emphasis was always placed upon the positive, the constructive.¹¹ K showed a ready and intelligent interest. When she found out that she was not to be hurt in the process, she opened up. The clinic took the place of her unsatisfactory family. She wanted to please them and gain their approbation. She thought they really cared about her. No success was made by the worker in an effort to transfer K's regard to her family. Transference rather took place to the worker.

The visitor was quick to see that K learned through observation, and she gave her charge plenty of opportunity to observe her way of living, her standards, her ideas. The worker was young, interesting in living, a doer. K admired her intelligence, her industry and her philosophy. The worker feels that K has never had a "crush" on her but that she admires her as being a person who accomplished things, and got a good deal out of life.

One of the most significant things recorded was the incident in which the worker saw that the child was avoiding her, because of fear of her disapproval. She made an opportunity for K to see her about a more agreeable matter. Here was the use of the old pleasure-pain principle—"We tend to do that which gives us pleasure and to avoid that which gives us pain." The worker would never have been able to help the child had she assumed a reprimanding attitude, as K could not endure censure. Rather, the worker tried to show K the pleasureable results of patient effort and good conduct.

¹¹ Cf. Lucy Wright, "The Worker's Attitude as an Element in Social Case Work", *The Family*, July, 1924, Vol. 5, Page 104.

In dealing with problem girls, the writer has noticed again and again that the girl's desire to have the worker think well of her has hindered complete confidence. In this case the worker watched out for this stumbling block and made K feel that no misconduct would shock her, and no failure cause her to withdraw her interest. Is it not natural that a fourteen year old girl, depending upon the interest of a social worker, and wishing security in that friendship, should avoid anything which might disturb that security? She preferred running away from her failure in school to facing it with the worker. Once the facing was done, with pleasureable results, it became easier to face further unpleasant issues with this "different" friend. If all workers could assume a "non-shockable attitude" and refrain from judging hastily, I believe the matter of getting confidence would be no problem at all. How easy it would have been to suspect K of serious misconduct here! Suspicion revealed to K would have thrown the child at once on the defensive. The worker sought to give K an opportunity to make new friends and interests, to lessen the child's dependence upon herself, and to develop K's personality.

The keynote of successful treatment in this case the scientific attitude of the worker. Return to the psychiatrist as a method of treatment demonstrates its value here. The method of building upon the hopeful and positive is carried on throughout.¹² Most of the work was done directly with the child, rather than with her environment or the people in it. The method of training the child with an inferiority complex could be carried over into all cases. K was spared the feeling of not being wanted in her own home by making her removal a matter of expediency.

Case No. 15, not presented for detailed study, is that of a girl thief, fifteen years old. The psychiatrist approached her stealing on a practical rather than a moral basis. He explained to her the laws of property, which were established to help people to live more comfortably with each other. The girl was shown that personal loss would make her very unhappy, and that if she were to get along well with other folk and get what she wanted out of life, she had to give in to property laws. Two years later, the girl showed she remembered this advice when she said, after someone had stolen her fountain pen, "Now I know how people felt when I took things!" There has been no recurrence of the stealing in her case.

Case No. 14, not presented for study here, was a girl who early

¹² Lucy Wright, "The Worker's Attitude as an Element in Social Case Work", *The Family*, July, 1924, Vol. 5, Page 104.

showed signs of a withdrawal of personality. She felt she was being persecuted by social workers. The psychiatrist built up her feeling of confidence in herself and showed her that she was both capable and likeable. Her eager response to this method made a cooperative person out of her.

This completes the group of cases showing, preeminently, adjustment to reality.

Adjusting to Authority

The second group of cases now to be considered is made up of studies of girls who were rebels against authority—authority in the home, in the school, in society itself. Adjustments here were brought about in various ways, while the girls were on probation, committed to an institution, paroled, placed under supervision.

In very few of the records studied was there shown any attempt to get at the very earliest conflicts against authority in the girl's remote childhood. In each case the girl was treated as a grown up rebel. In no instance was psychoanalysis used, nor was there a detailed history of the girl's childhood. It may be said for social workers, that three years ago they were not thinking as they are today about the pre-school child, and the fact that personality trends are early determined. Most of the case records studied started two or three years ago. I would like to know how these girls first came into conflict.

Case No. 16. A was fifteen, tall, strong, attractive. She was abnormally strong willed, quite unable to get along with the relatives with whom she lived, with her teachers at private school, or with other girls. She was bright, having an Intelligence Quotient of 108 and a mental age of sixteen years, three months. Educated abroad, she compared everything in Europe to everything in America, quite to the detriment of the latter. She was very artistic, competent when interested, and keen to lead. An unwholesome sex interest was shown in her tales of being assaulted by her cousin, and in the suggestive notes she received from boys while she was attending private school. She shocked the teachers in the school by smoking and spooning. A said she had seen one of the teachers spooning, and she saw all the actresses in the movies smoke, so she thought only old fogies disapproved of such things. The school refused to keep her and the relatives were at loss to know how to handle her. They came to a social agency for advice.

A's father was in government service abroad. His family were well-bred, prosperous Americans. The man had left school when in the fourth grade to become a mechanic. He always felt

keenly that his lack of education kept him in a position inferior to that of the rest of his family. His wife was an unknown quantity in the social history. She died after childbirth when A was four years old. A was reared by strangers, sent to school in Europe, and remained in school till the age of seven, enjoying every privilege of luxury and service. An aunt in America then volunteered to take A into her home if she would come to the United States. A's father eagerly complied with the suggestion, and sent his little seven year old to his old home in America. A expected she would be provided with a continuance of luxurious living, and although her aunt had been at great pains to make things pretty for her, the girl was deeply disappointed at finding a modest, servantless home. She pitied herself and complained to relatives of being martyred by her aunt. She took no responsibility for any of the work in the home. During one Christmas season, when the aunt spoke sharply to A about some trivial thing, the girl locked herself into her room for five days, refusing food, missing the Christmas festivities and the presents, and finally had to be asked to come downstairs as her aunt feared for her health. A had a keen affection for another aunt, who was gentler and more sympathetic. One of A's teachers declared that she could not be managed by making her feel she was being influenced or directed by others, as the difficulty always came after her will was crossed.

The psychologist said, "A needs a complete change of environment. She may develop into a splendid woman, if good moral standards are inculcated. An institution is needed where attention is given to developing the sense of responsibility, or religious feeling."

A was accordingly sent to a children's school where the students considered themselves the citizens of a community, performing the duties of workers and public officials, sentencing their own offenders. A's relatives paid her tuition.

After two years and six months, A came home and sought out the social worker with whom she had corresponded during her two years' stay.

The worker was impressed with A's matured, self-controlled, grown-up air. The girl discussed her case with the worker, calmly and without rancor. She asked the latter to explain just why she was sent away. The visitor told her that although she had committed no crime, she was on the verge of rebellion, and her relatives were afraid to try to handle her. Feeling that an outsider could understand her better, they had asked the advice of the social agency and it was felt that A needed an environment in which she could feel responsible.

A said she thought that in theory student government was excellent, but that the children were not of high enough caliber to use the freedom and responsibility placed in their hands. She

felt that time had done as much for her as discipline, although her experience with punishment at the school had taught her to use silence as a protection, and she was using it then with her relatives. A showed the worker a deep interest in social work. She declared that she wished to be a social worker because she would like to do something to help girls of fifteen or sixteen who got into difficulties such as she herself had experienced.

A subsequently became a nurse. She has been absorbed into the social life provided through her relatives.

A's experiences at the student government school, and the ways in which her attitude was changed, are shown in her many letters to the worker, which, with the occasional reports from the institution, constitute the only history of treatment.

Her first reaction was one of wild revolt against her unattractive and bewilderingly different surroundings. She was finally put in jail by the students for violating a rule of etiquette at one of their dances. "You can't turn around here without bumping into a rule", she wrote in disgust. "Work itself is good, but it certainly can't change one's mind or ideas, do you understand?" A threatened in this letter to run away. The worker very shortly heard that she had carried out her threat. A and another girl chose the occasion when the whole school was on a holiday to fool their jailor and skip to the next town, where they tried shoplifting. They were caught and brought back to jail. The institution declared that A was egotistical, deceitful, and had moral standards ranking with the Hottentots. A abruptly stopped her letters to the worker and did not resume the correspondence for six months. Her letters to her aunts showed a hard flippancy and a lack of concern. Her father, sent for, came to her aunt's town to find work, and went on to the institution to visit A.

A's next letter said, "Let's take up the friendship again. Don't worry. I won't get back in jail. I realize now what my freedom means. I am willing to be angelic to the last degree in order to keep it." She recalled to the visitor their conversation enroute to the institution when they had talked about philosophy. This companionship had appealed to her strongly and she wished to continue it. She said that she had achieved a better adjustment for she then had a daily schedule with plenty of variety, her work being in the tea room, where she had an opportunity to arrange tables artistically and make place cards. She was reading much psychology and theory of religion. She told the worker the type of man she decided she could marry and declared that she would take no other. "Here I could get some valuable training for social work," she said, "and perhaps some experience elsewhere."

A asked for a vacation, but when her relatives and her worker felt it was best for her to continue at the school, she submitted to their decision with the best of grace, and cheerfully said they would perhaps let her have a vacation next summer! She ex-

pressed her pleasure at receiving an advancement to the job of bookkeeper. "Now I am advancing, gaining, learning, do you see?"

Although A was elected to a judgeship by the students, she resigned, telling the worker in her letter, "I want nothing to do with a government that is a force and is used as such by the citizens. I've been awfully angelic for ages. I fully believe I am socially cured. At least I'm seventeen now and I see my way more clearly than I did two years ago. From this day on I want always to be straight. I am stubborn and when I really make up my mind to do a thing, I do it. I am going to try to be like you and Aunt S and some of my friends who are worth imitating. And Dad's going to be proud of me yet. And you people will sit up and take notice some day!"

Discussion: As A was a pronounced rebel against all authority, it was lucky for her that her kind relatives had the backbone to send her to a school where she had to submit. A had keen intelligence. The theory of student government could not have failed to appeal to her. Her reactions against it were intelligent reactions, such as the idealist always makes. If anyone had yielded to her importunities to be allowed to come home, the battle would have been lost. A was forced to acknowledge that in an environment where you know you are going to get what you deserve, it is reasonable and expedient to do right always.

There is a suggested method for other workers in the correspondence between girl and worker. The latter wrote all her letters in long hand so that A would feel they were a personal and not a business matter. The worker was a mature girl, with high ideals and tolerant spirit. When she took A to the school, she established her future relationship to her charge, which was from thenceforth a comradely one. She drew forth from A her own ideas of life. The girl became interested in social service because she admired the worker's vocation. The worker directed her reading and to some extent her thinking, without making this obvious. There was no condescension in the worker's attitude, for she treated the girl as an equal, in intelligence, interests, and understanding. Undoubtedly the return of the girl's father gave her a new incentive to make good.

Case No. 36. Head up, eyes blazing, lips tight, L faced the criminal court attorneys nearly three years ago. She was then fourteen, an inscrutable girl of refined appearance. She came to Criminal Court to testify against the men whom she had accused of rape. There was a charge against her in Juvenile Court, yet she gave excellent cooperation, going over her story with the

prosecutors, showing that she possessed an unusually accurate memory, and a real understanding of the situation in which she found herself.

Up to six months before this time, L had been an ideal girl, getting along well in school (she was in the second year of high school) and at home. However, for six months she had been habitually out late at night, had acted boy crazy, attended public dances, and often stayed away from home for days at a time. When her mother questioned her as to her whereabouts, she answered, evasively, "Oh, I was over to a girl friend's." She told other girls of her conquests and said to an employer, "Oh, all the girls I know do things like that", when the question of immorality was brought up. Suddenly, she was kidnapped and raped by a group of several men whom she had met at a dance. They held her for several days before releasing her. L then came into court. She entered the institution to which she was committed with her head held high, telling other girls that she merely came as a witness, and would stay only during the hearings. Her testimony in Criminal Court, dragged out over weary months, was instrumental in sending several of these men to the penitentiary. The retelling of her story caused her much mental agony, and the verbal blows received from the attorney for the defense, made her more bitter than before. She felt she had done her duty and was extremely resentful to the Juvenile Court Probation officer for permitting her commitment and to her parents for asking it. Her declaration was that the unhappiness of her home was the real cause of her misfortune. For the first three months her thoughts were bent on escaping from the Convent. Physical findings were negative. Her mental age was twenty, her Intelligence Quotient 138, classification very superior.

L's home consisted of three wretchedly furnished, ill-kept rooms in a run-down neighborhood. Her father was twenty years older than her mother. He was a true Celt, loveable and generous to a fault. Coming from a respectable family, he had been a ne'er-do-well from his youth. He confessed that he had always loved drink and when he had had the opportunity to make good had never taken life seriously. He once had a good job, but his irregularity had pushed him down the scale. When L came into court, he was earning small pay at a heavy job in a factory. L's conflicts with her father were over his drinking. At one time he had been in jail with an alcoholic psychosis. L's mother was a fat, indolent, self-indulgent woman of fairly good family connections. Her training had been negligible. Instead of cleaning the house, preparing edible meals, or looking after the children, she spent her time reading sentimental novels, eating candy, and "lying around". L had no respect for her mother and the two were constantly in conflict. As for the younger children, they had enough to eat and a place to sleep, got along well in school, and thus far had been no trouble.

Today L, having spent two years at the institution and one year and six months on parole, is an ambitious, hard-working girl, employed as a telephone operator and attending night school. She is doing her utmost to get the family to move into a better neighborhood, to add to the home furnishings, teach her mother house-keeping, instruct her little brother and sister, and pass on the sane rules of living which she absorbed during her stay in the institution and in her wage home. She shows absolutely no undue interest in boys and no conflict about them. "I'll marry," she says, "but the man I marry is going to be someone I can respect." She has given up the prospect of a college education because she feels that her family would be dependent upon her in the case of her father's death, and that she would be needed to help the younger children. Her attitude towards those in authority at the institution, towards the probation officer, and the social worker, is of the friendliest. She has broken down her resistances to the worker as one in authority, and now freely discusses her problems and admits her deficiencies. She says she despises a certain woman of good family whose moral standards are not as high as they should be. "You could not say that about the people I went to live with when I left the institution. They were absolutely above reproach." L dresses with very good taste and is always presentable.

The history of L's change covers a long period of time. She stayed at the institution an extra year of her own volition that she might finish her commercial course. She had an intense admiration for the Sister in charge of her class. She said of this Sister, "No one is harder on you when you do wrong, but no one can forgive you more." Although L claims she was never religious, she says she found a consolation in the chapel in the institution which she will never forget. One can picture this girl's weariness resulting from her humiliating experiences in court, and the transition which took place in the quiet chapel, with its peaceful atmosphere of calm expectancy and mystery. There is to some people no influence so healing as that of a church.

It took L several months to recognize the expediency of submitting to the authority of the Sisters, but when she did recognize it, she became one of their most amenable and trusted girls.

L "jumped" at the suggestion that she go through college with the assistance of a certain interested club of women. Her family willingly agreed that she should accept this opportunity. She seemed to feel little concern over their welfare, in fact, to be ashamed of them. She took advantages of the free home in which she was placed to do her high school work, for granted, and after a time, did very well in school. At first she assisted very graciously with the household tasks and exhibited a real admiration for her foster mother, whom she called, "Aunt". But after some time, when her aunt ordered her to do anything, or corrected one of her mistakes, L sulkily withdrew from her presence. She

would glower for days at a fancied insult. The Convent visitor talked to her about compensation, explaining that she must determine what she desired most in her life, then go after it and pay for it. Was it a successful career, self-development, and happiness, adjustment, or was it the pleasure of having her own way unmolested? Was she willing to pay the price of the former at the sacrifice of the latter? Was she willing to accept the teaching her foster home would give her or was her pride too great? The visitor told L she would have to fight this battle wherever she went since the same problem would come up in college and in whatsoever work she found herself. Examples were cited of people who, like her father, paid a stiff price for having their own way. The visitor assured L of her interest in her as a personality, and in an impersonal way, since her success would make it easy for other girls to be given like privileges.

For a time things went more smoothly but the girl soon reverted to her moody, sullen, absent-minded fits. She confessed to the visitor her worries over her family and the fact that she was repressing the thought of them from her mind. Although an effort was made to reestablish the rapport between the girl and her foster family, L left the home suddenly after a reprimand. She returned to her home. The visitor, calling upon her, put on her shoulders the full responsibility of making all future plans and asked her to report her decision. She secured a job and accepted a small loan scholarship for night school. Her parents simply took things as a matter of course.

Up to this time, the visitor and the foster mother had made many unsuccessful attempts to get the girl's confidence, but she was always noncommittal and on the defensive. Her new move made an opportunity for the visitor to approve L's judgment and to praise her responsible attitude. The visitor simply waited for the girl's confidence. It was over the dinner table that it first came. L told the visitor all her family worries, what she was trying to do for the sake of the other children and the difficulty she was having with her mother. She said she would do anything on earth to keep her little sister from going through the experiences she had met. L felt that college was well worth giving up if she could do anything for her family. The visitor suggested books on child training, and a more careful method of suggesting changes in the home to her mother.

L painted the furniture and floors in her home. She bought new dishes, table linen, towels for kitchen and bathroom, and racks to hang them on. Clean towels were a symbol to her of decent living. She taught her little sister sex instruction and helped her little brother to get over his fear of the dark. When L's mother heard the girl praised for doing what she herself had never done, she wept, nagged, and complained. The visitor adopted the plan of praising L before her family, always when the girl was not

present, trying to make the father and mother see that it was her interest in them and her desire to make them happier which caused her to act as she did. The situation at home still continues to be an unhappy one, although the father does not drink except at rare intervals. However, L stays gamely on, and has received an advancement in pay. Her friendship with the visitor has continued for some eight months. The two meet over the supper table or at the theatre. The visitor does most of the listening.

Discussion: This girl came from alcoholic stock, which may or may not have had some influence on her nervous system and general stability. Her mother's lack of understanding and shiftlessness, left L without the necessary training and standards of good living. Her sex experiences came at the beginning of adolescence and left a deep impression. Her knowledge was further enlarged through association with bad companions. She suffered from feelings of inferiority because of the low status of her home, her mother's laxness, her father's drinking, and her own early notoriety.

The Sisters succeeded well with L because she respected the fact that their authority must be obeyed. Her desire to go to college was fostered by the nuns. They also helped her to a better attitude towards her family and towards the court. The Sister in charge became a real mother to her, listening to the girl's confidence and advising her. L wished to appear well in this Sister's eyes, and knew that she could only do so by being thoroughly good, for the Sister's long experience with girls made her keen to detect hypocrisy. The Sister passed on to the worker this maxim: "Never drive L to do anything—she resents dictation and works best when she follows her own judgment."

The worker assumed from the first that L was a responsible person, able to make her own decisions, and that she herself stepped in only when she wanted to make sure that L saw all sides of the question. She told L that she would not put her under any of the usual rules of parole; rather she was on her honor and expected to take a responsible attitude towards herself. The worker never allowed the girl to see any suspicion of herself. All attempts to move L were made by suggestion and in the more intimate talks by an exploration of character. Under this method, L began slowly to try the worker out with small confidences. Finding her interested and non-critical, L became at ease. The worker felt that L needed a confidante, not so much for advice as for the purpose of expressing her plans to someone, so that she might formulate them more clearly

to herself. As a general thing, L's judgment has been good. When the worker has disagreed, she has held her tongue, but L has seemed to sense without being told how the worker feels about certain attitudes which the girl assumes, and the latter has often modified her plans without being told to do so.

The year spent in the free home gave L a new standard of living. The happy, normal, comfortable home, with all it meant in the way of security, comfort, and opportunity, left its deep and unforgettable impression. No one in that home was drowning his troubles, the mother in that home was actively engrossed in affairs within and without her home, the sons and daughters were contented and possessed of many interests, yet there was a place for L. Their home did not raise her standards to an impossible height, as is often the case. Rather the experience gave her a norm of living which she has made an effort to approximate.

The visitor has tried to achieve towards L something like the "creative attitude."¹³ She has wished to give L the opportunity to express her finest qualities of intelligence and feeling. The mutual rapport that is necessary in all good probation work is present here.

It is desperately hard for L to confide in any one because she had been betrayed by friends. The wariness she took years in building up has somewhat isolated her from society, yet the worker would diagnose some of her difficulty as "an intense yearning to be understood and accepted."¹⁴ L is a much more social person today than she ever thought she could be three years ago, when she felt she hated everyone. Her reaction to authority has been changed because those in authority over her have not used force in handling her. Her own ambition has been most instrumental in her success. The approval of the Sisters and of her friends, also the approval of the worker, has given her some of the self confidence she has needed.

Case No. 19. T was brought into court at thirteen, a flighty, irresponsible little runaway with a vivid imagination. She had disobeyed her mother, used vile language, refused to help with the housework, and had sometimes abused her baby sister. When corrected, T became highly enraged, told her parents they were not her right parents, and threatened to kill herself and them. She often indulged in tantrums.

The family were Russians. The father had come to America

¹³ Miriam Van Waters, "The Delinquent Attitude", *The Family*, July, 1924, Vol. 5, Page 109.

¹⁴ Lucy Wright, "The Worker's Attitude as an Element in Social Case Work", *The Family*, July, 1924, Vol. 5, Page 104.

eleven years before and T and her mother two years previous to her court escapade. They had come direct from the war zone, having experienced frightful privations. T had had experiences with soldiers which had colored all of her mental life. Her mother was ignorant and below normal in intelligence, her father abusive. The family lived in a poor neighborhood, but the house was clean and well cared for. The father earned only \$10 a week. T was afraid of him. She had little respect for her mother. She said her parents made her nervous. She exaggerated so much that it was impossible to believe her statements.

T had a mental age of 12 and an Intelligence Quotient of 80, rating dull normal in intelligence. There was some endocrine disturbance. The psychiatrist found her emotionally unstable, showing intense interest in sexual matters, untruthful, and fond of attention. She had been in this country so short a time, that it was felt the test was unfair. Close supervision was advised.

T went back to her parents under supervision. It was soon found that she was writing notes to boys in the playground, making overtures to them. When questioned, she said readily that she had had sexual relations with every boy in the playground, but one, and she had not become acquainted with him yet. Physical examination showed that she appeared virginal, so that her statements were again questioned. The Juvenile Court sent her to an institution for a short period of training.

Two years and a half later, T is getting along with her family with no difficulty. In school she is quiet and well behaved, although her marks are low. There is no more sex talk. T has taken seriously the institution's teaching that it is her obligation to teach her family that which she has learned about wholesome living. According to the probation officer, T has "uplifted the entire family." She has shown her mother how to cook and keep house and how to serve American food. Her father has become more of a wage earner. The social worker urged him to see that T had the right sort of clothing and recreation like other American girls. T is ambitious to earn money and provide comforts for her family.

Discussion: The Probation officer says that the training at the institution, not probation or supervision, brought about the change in T. At the institution T had an opportunity to live in the out of doors. The regular regime did a great deal to quiet the restlessness of the little Russian emigrant, and the busy activities of the day kept her mind from dwelling on sordid pictures of the past. T received instruction in housekeeping and cooking. She took part in supervised play under the direction of a trained college girl. Most of all, the influence of the matron in charge had its effect on T. The matron was a sympathetic person, particularly fond of unadjusted, be-

wildered girls. She made T feel that she was to be her family's teacher and their interpreter of America. No one would have suspected before that anyone was capable of developing in T an almost religious sense of responsibility towards her own family, but the matron achieved this miracle.

Psychiatrists question the wisdom of allowing a child to assume a superior attitude in the home, becoming the head of the household instead of the father or mother. The entire family relationship may be disturbed or unnatural as a result. However, T was still subject to the will of her father and mother. Her work was to interpret new ideas and methods to them. Probation officer and social worker report complete harmony in the home. In some other cases, the assuming of superiority on the part of the child has brought about unfortunate results.

T's health defects were corrected and she received sensible sex instruction. The school built up in her a pleasant feeling about home life and education. She learned some fundamental lessons in etiquette. T was very raw material. It may be that she could have made a good adjustment in a high type wage home, or foster home, but the institutional placement, with its more strict discipline, seems to have been a fortunate one for the flighty little runaway with the dark memories.

Case No. 1 (not presented for detailed study) illustrates a method of treatment on probation. The girl was twenty, a former college student and teacher, who had cashed bad checks amounting to several thousand dollars. She was an unsteady, emotional person who had taken no responsibility and had been spoiled by her family. The social worker took her on probation, and, over a period of years, budgeted her money, held her to weekly payments of her debts, and supervised her purchases. The girl lived in a boarding home under the agency's direction. She had such a weak personality and such a defective will that it is doubtful that any less strict form of discipline would have been successful.

Cases No. 20, 21, 22, and 23, none of which are presented for detailed study, show girls whose institutional training was successful. Case No. 42, (also not presented for detailed study) was the spoiled daughter of a family in comfortable circumstances. She made the transition from a corrective institution to an exclusive boarding school with great success, and is now a student at a great university.

Adjusting to Her Home

The next group of cases under consideration includes girls originally unhappy, unadjusted, or in rebellion in their own homes, who were successful only when they returned to those homes.

Case No. 3 is the product of a broken home in which the mother had deserted. No. 34 is a girl who had been left free in her own home to do as she pleased, while the family agency tried in vain to raise the standards of the home and assist the mother with the discipline of the children. No. 30 is the abused daughter of an un-Americanized mother who cruelly mistreated the girl and reported her to court because of incorrigibility. In the first case the mother had deserted and remarried, leaving her daughter with the weak willed father. In the second, the father was dead, and the girl quarreled with her stepfather. In the last, the parents were divorced. All were products of broken homes.

Case No. 3. G was a sixteen year old flapper, "with a good deal of surface", and a very shallow judgment back of her worldly wise and sophisticated manner. Her very indulgent father brought her in because she had become unmanageable at home and was planning to run away with a boy friend. She blamed her own mother for everything that had happened to her, for, some years previous to this time, her mother had deserted, divorced her father, and remarried a man whom G did not like, leaving her two children, both girls, with their father. The paternal grandmother, placed in charge of the home, nagged G. The girl admitted she had been immoral. She said she did not want a home and hated children. She said also that she never wanted to go and live with her mother again. She expressed a strong dislike for further education.

G's father was of Scotch descent, American-born. He lived in a comfortably furnished, well-kept home, presided over by the grandmother. In contrast, G's mother was a somewhat rough and ready individual. She lived with her second husband in another part of the city. When she requested that G be allowed to come to live with her, the father would not consent. G's mother said in no uncertain terms that the father spoiled the girl and had not "the backbone of a louse."

G had a mental age of 12 years, 4 months, and an Intelligence Quotient of 77. It was advised that she be given close and sympathetic supervision because of her father's inability to handle her, and her strong interest in boys and sexual matters.

After a temporary detention, G was placed in the home of her aunt. The aunt was a refined, motherly woman, who took a sincere interest in G. The girl secured work, but within a few

months, effected a hurried marriage with a boy little older than herself and went with him to St. Louis. But G was not changed by a simple marriage ceremony. She still continued to flirt, to stay out late at night, and there was a strong suspicion that she still indulged in sex misconduct with men. Her youthful husband tried to discipline her by locking her up in the clothes press for the day, when she insisted against his wishes that she was going out to work.

Finally the young bride and groom returned to the bride's home. The girl's wild behavior caused her father and her spouse to decide that she must be locked up. They brought her back to the institution in which she had been placed previously. She tried at once to escape. Although she used every bit of her knowledge of persuasion with her two ordinarily weak willed relatives, it was a month before they took her out. Just as an experiment, the social worker suggested she be allowed to live with her mother.

Her aunt says of G today, "A miracle seems to have happened. When G comes over to our house in the evening, and sits down and plays cards and visits in such a happy way, I ask myself, 'Is this G?'"

Since she went to live with her mother, there has been no further misconduct. She does not care to dance. She is quite satisfied that her husband should be the only bread-winner in the family. Her chief interest has been in the making of beruffled baby dresses for the newcomer in her mother's family. She gives her father and aunt certain evenings each week, and in true filial fashion distributes her attention among her relatives. G is no longer running her little world, but is fitting into it most conventionally. She has become truly domestic.

Discussion: Here is one of those miraculous changes which one hesitates to define. It shows clearly that it is necessary to arrive at the cause of the original delinquency in order to plan effective treatment. The unguessed of source of trouble was discovered in this case only after a period of trial and error.

When G was brought into custody, she said that her mother was to blame for everything, for her mother did not care enough about her to stay in her home and look after her daughter. G stated that she would never forgive or forget her mother's desertion, nor did she wish to live with her mother again. Here again is an illustration of the point that the girl's statement at the time she is brought into custody is often a direct denial of the thing she wants most. G probably thought she was telling the truth. She had been deeply hurt by the loss of her mother. She sought pleasure and excitement to compensate for her mother's love. Overindulgence and nagging

made her home unattractive. G could "work" her father and grandmother to get anything she wanted. The only person she did not find "easy" was her mother.

The record early gives indication that the mother was, in spite of her desertion, the most forceful member of her family. The aunt stated early in the history that the plan of placing the girl with her mother might not be a bad one, and surprisingly remarked that there was a very close tie between G and her mother. When the mother herself was interviewed, she told the worker in no uncertain terms that the trouble with G was that she had been over-indulged. She also said that she did not blame her daughter for reacting to her grandmother's nagging, and advised the worker that G needed a longer stay in an institution.

Many workers would be skeptical about placing a problem girl with a mother of this type, but it developed that this mother's forceful personality, her energetic common sense, and her understanding of G's misbehavior, made her the logical person to handle the girl. There was a comradeship between G and her mother as the two had common tastes and understandings. G's craving for her mother's love and attention was at last satisfied.

The case of G is a notable example of an adjustment in a broken home. Such adjustments are difficult for the social worker to make, and, oftentimes, only intimate knowledge of the case will bring the real issues and deprivations to light, when treatment has extended over a period of time.

Case No. 34. F was fifteen, and so dirty she was "hardly folks". The charge against her was truancy, but immorality was suspected, and she was sent to the same institution to which her younger sister had been committed a short time before, the latter on a charge of stealing. F had been used to wandering the streets at night, doing as she pleased, with little interference from her mother. At the institution, she proved a teachable child, although she had occasional fits of sulks. Before she was discharged from the institution, the social worker who was to have the girl on parole, and the family case worker who had been active on the family for some time, conferred together, then arranged a meeting between F and her mother in their presence. It was agreed that as soon as the mother moved her home into a better neighborhood, both girls might be returned to her. For a time, both would be placed in wage homes and continue with their schooling.

F wept at the thought of such placement. She reacted against her foster mother because she was bossy. F sulked and refused to tell her grievances. The foster mother requested that she be

removed. In her second wage home, F found the foster mother more readily persuaded. She seized every opportunity to slip off to her own home; she skipped school and evaded every responsibility when she could "get away with it". The girl made promises to return at certain hours, but she never kept her promises. F never in any case exhibited an open defiance, but she was as much of a smoldering rebel as it was possible to be.

The home was a hovel in one of the worst sections of the city. Her mother lived alone with one little brother in two rooms, littered with a few rickety pieces of broken down furniture. The place was filthy and dark. F's mother had been married twice, first to F's father and then to Mr. M, who, after allowing her to support him for years, died of tuberculosis. F's mother was suspected of being a hard drinker. Certainly her friends were people of low standards. The woman came of peasant stock. She did day work. Although she had been in the country many years, she was still unable to speak English. F's younger brother had been sent away on a charge of truancy.

When F lost her second wage home, she was brought to the clinic for study. F's life age was then 15, her mental age 13, and her Intelligence Quotient 83, placing her in the dull normal classification. The psychiatrist said, "She is not overly impulsive or difficult to control; she is energetic, very thorough in her work, and shows careful planning. She is very amenable to reason, but becomes somewhat sullen when unfairly treated." It was recommended that F be returned to her mother in a different home, and suggested that the girl herself be allowed to assume most of the responsibility in the home, with close supervision being given.

Two years have passed. F is a pretty, well-groomed, attractively dressed girl who has a steady job in a factory. Through her, a new home was found into which the mother moved. The family agency provided furniture. F and her sister with their earnings added a victrola, davenport, and some chairs, so that they might entertain their company at home. They added pictures and white curtains to the furnishings. The net family income is \$40 a week.

Most important of all, F is engaged. Her fiance is a boy of fairly good family, who is a steady, reliable worker. He is proud to bring F to Sunday dinner at his home, and his family admire her. F's mother is delighted with F's success. When the visitor calls and has occasion to praise F, the woman stands in the centre of the living room rubbing her hands delightedly. On the worker's last visit, F expressed concern over her little brother, who is not yet old enough to enter school. "He runs around with all the little alley rats," she exclaimed. "And he's getting to be just like them! Why can't he imitate some good models?"

Discussion: Ordinarily it is poor technique to remove from her home a child who has as deep an interest in it as F had. How-

ever, the family agency had been trying for years to raise the mother's standards. It was only by removing her children that the woman was given sufficient incentive to provide them a better home.

Although F never adjusted herself to the wage homes in which she was placed, she told the psychiatrist, "I've been in nice places where they had everything lovely, and I know how you ought to take care of things. I want my own home to be right."

At the institution F learned to obey. She also learned etiquette, cleanliness, and a respect for religion. Her wage homes gave her a new standard of home life.

Her attitude towards the visitor was from the beginning like that of a lumbering and patient St. Bernard dog towards a noisy puppy. F knew what she wanted. The visitor was trying to impose something so vastly different that it seemed senseless to the girl. She saw no reason why she should do as the visitor asked and the fact that the latter constantly called her to task for her shortcomings, made her a person to avoid.

This was the worker's mistake in analyzing the child. Until she took her to the psychiatrist she did not understand her. She did not know that she was increasing F's discomfort and her feeling of inferiority by scolding, and that F would only respond to praise and to constructive suggestion. To the psychiatrist goes the credit of giving the worker another viewpoint. He taught her to see that F was a girl who could be given responsibility and that she worked best when allowed to follow her own judgment. The biggest thing in F's life was her love for her mother and her desire to better her mother's condition.

F's attitude towards the worker has likewise undergone a change. Last summer she accompanied the worker and some other girls to camp and proved to be the best and most agreeable camper of the group. She goes voluntarily to the psychiatrist to discuss her affairs and shows no further tendency to avoid the worker, of whose approval she can now be certain. Although she doubted at first that the visitor would approve of her fiance, and allowed the worker to find this out from someone else, F is now very glad to talk about him.

One may see, if one has the constructive spirit, a force on which an entire home may be rebuilt in the personality of many an unadjusted, bewildered, unhappy girl. The visitor confesses that she never believed F could be such a force.

Case No. 30. H, fourteen, had a mental age of 14 years, 6

months, and an Intelligence Quotient of 102. Her mother accused her of staying out late at night, stealing sums of a few cents and refusing to obey her. Neighbors said that the woman beat H with a strap until she bled.

H was removed from her home for a time and placed under supervision. She was given a big sister, a summer camp experience, and group recreation. She responded readily enough to these influences, but the real response, the real miracle of transformation, took place within the girl's mother.

The latter was engaged to come to the settlement house where the group recreation was held, to do kitchen work, cleaning, and dishwashing after parties. She was paid well for the service, and H accompanied her on her "club" evening to and from the settlement house. H's mother could not complain of the hours her daughter kept when she was with her. The mother observed the interest and liking which the Big and Little Sisters had for H, watched her daughter's popularity, saw her add to her accomplishments in sewing and dancing, and rather unwillingly began to change her attitude towards H. After all, she appeared to reason, her daughter was more clever than many of the children. When the social worker began to make suggestions to help her in dealing with H, the mother accepted them willingly. A property matter coming up for settlement, she consulted the social worker, and was aided greatly. She welcomed the Big Sister to her home and permitted H to entertain a beau at home—unheard of event in that household! The entire repressive atmosphere of the home has changed.

Today, at sixteen, H has blossomed out as an attractive girl, with engaging personality, capable of leadership. She dresses well, she dances beautifully, she is popular with both girls and boys, she can make a speech or sing a song without self consciousness. She is frank and open and friendly. When she first came to the Big Sisters for help she was scared, poorly orientated, sulky, a little unfriendly and suspicious, inflammable material for revolt.

Discussion: The keynote of treatment and success in this case seems to have been the education of a foreign-born mother in American ideas about girlhood. The case is an example of "treating the people with whom the child associates"¹⁵ in order to bring about successful adjustment. The girl herself was not a real problem.

Five other cases among the forty-four studied, namely Numbers 2, 8, 11, 33, and 43, none of which are given here in detail, show very happy readjustments to the girl's own home, through the education of parents and the development of insight in the girl. No. 7,

¹⁵ William Healy, "The Child, His Nature and His Needs," Page 232.

in the first group of cases, is an example of a situation in which the social worker was unable to do anything with the mother, but the girl herself made an adjustment in spite of the unsatisfactory conditions. No. 19, in the second group, was the real social worker in her own family. No. 38, in group three, won her mother's love and understanding and became a most reliable member of her family.

The ultimate goal of all successful work with unadjusted girls is their reestablishment in normal family life and it may be assumed that many of the girls studied who were in foster homes, will ultimately go back to their own people. It is only in the case in which a home is permanently broken that a complete adjustment to a foster home may be expected. Over half the girls studied were taken into custody temporarily. Foster homes were used in two-thirds of the cases, with the understanding that the placements were temporary ones. 43% were placed in institutions for training.

Adjusting to a Foster Home

The next group of cases includes girls who have made a happy adjustment in foster homes.

Case No. 35. When O, thirteen years old, was brought under the care of the training school, the Head declared she was the most innocent looking, angelic child who had ever entered an institution. She had blue eyes and golden hair; she was affectionate and well behaved. At the age of twelve she had learned the practice of masturbation from a subnormal girl friend and had been engaged in helping this girl write suggestive notes to boys. She witnessed her friend's immoral conduct with a druggist in the rear of his store and allowed herself to be tampered with by him. She allowed an old man the same privilege for the payment of \$1.00. Two years later, when placed in a wage home, she was found by her boarding mother to be indulging in mutual masturbation with a four year old girl in the family.

O came from Croatian peasant stock of low standards and little education. On both sides there was a history of heavy drinking. The father died after a protracted spell of drinking. The mother had been immoral with the stepfather before she married him and this fact was known to O. The girl spent most of her childhood with her maternal grandparents, who were fond and indulgent. They were also heavy drinkers. O was allowed excessive freedom to roam the streets and attend all the motion picture shows. Her younger sister, who showed marked sexual interests, exerted quite an influence over O. An elder brother was frequently in court for some delinquency. O chose for her companions girls of an inferior intelligence and she early ac-

quired from her association, a knowledge of the world which her angelic little countenance belied. In the institution, she was most docile and teachable. Her foster parents in the wage home in which she was placed, were plain, reliable people in comfortable circumstances. O was kept by them from association with boys, and they were very fearful that she would get into trouble. Most all her recreation was taken with the children of the foster family. She found few interests in school because she said the other girls were snobbish and talked about boys all the time.

The examiner at the clinic to which O was brought by the visitor, found that she had a mental age of eleven years, five months, and an Intelligence Quotient of 77. Her educational age was thirteen years, three months. It was determined that her problems were the result of the inter-action of constitutional and hereditary factors. Her environment had been unhealthy enough to account for her first delinquencies and her misbehaviour in the foster home resulted from inadequate outlets or instinctive drives which were sensitized by her early life experiences and were constantly seeking to find expression. The repressive attitude of her foster parents interfered with normal, healthy outlets for the girl, and built up internal tensions which found release in masturbation and the practices with the foster sister. It was suggested that O might soon leave school, remaining in her foster home. The foster mother's repressive attitude might be changed by getting her to realize the nature of the problem of the adolescent girl, and by building up healthy activities for the girl. The Big Sister was urged to continue her efforts and make arrangements to develop more outside interests. A contact of the psychiatrist with the foster mother was suggested.

Today O is still in school because her foster mother feels that she acquires more social contacts from attendance there, than she would if she stayed home all day long. The neighborhood in which the foster family live is a new one, just building up. The people who have moved in around O's home, have attractive homes and their children have many luxuries. There are many girls and boys in their teens and some of them are planning to go to college. O has made friends with most of them. No one looks upon her as a maid, but as an accepted member of the family in which she lives. The foster mother allows her to go out in the evenings to the homes of these neighbors, to dance and play cards. O has three or four suitors who vie for her attention. The teachers at school say that she is as well dressed as any child in school. The relatives and friends of her foster family take a great interest in O and include her in all of their invitations. O recently asked her foster mother if she could call her "Mother". She seldom visits her own family.

There has been no known recurrence of unwholesome sex activity. O does excellent house work—"Perfect", her foster

mother says. Although sometimes complaining that O is ungrateful for all that is done for her, the foster mother declares she is proud of the girl and loves to have people tell her how she has improved in appearance and manner since coming to their home. Her foster sister and brothers are very fond of her. No one suspects that O ever had a court record. Her foster mother plans to have her work in the home until she is eighteen, then to find a place for her in the office of a friend who is a dentist. She hopes that the girl will marry from her home.

Discussion: O's readjustment would not have taken place if the foster mother had not taken seriously her responsibility towards this little waif. She made her obligation a religious matter, and true charity was shown in her actions towards the child. Her first impulse, when she found that O was tampering with her little girl, was to put O out of her home forever, but her sober second thought was that she had been blessed with good fortune and it was her obligation to give this child a fair chance. The psychiatrist gave the foster mother instructions dealing with adolescence. The visitor has never met any woman who took such advice as seriously. There has been a revolutionary change in the foster mother's treatment of O. She realizes now that unwholesome activity can only be prevented by providing normal, wholesome outlets, and she has made an effort to find all possible outlets for O. It was quite a struggle for her to trust the girl with boys, but now she is proud of the fact that O has such nice boy friends.

This case illustrates a method of treatment through working with the girl's environment and the people who make it up. I do not believe that O gained any particular insight through her visit to the psychiatrist, but this visit resulted in the provision of new opportunities, interests, and companionship. O went to summer camp, attended Big Sister parties, and received recognition at school and in the neighborhood. O no longer feels it necessary to conceal her very obvious interest in boys. She no longer begs to be allowed to visit her own home frequently since she has been allowed a more normal life in her foster home. O's grandmother died last winter, and since then her affections have become more surely tied up in her foster family, who have become to her substitute mother, father, brothers, and sisters. Her own home influences were so bad that it was considered most desirable to make an absolute break from them. The adjustment to the foster home can only be achieved when the foster parents are given insight into child psychology. The visitor doubts that this particular foster mother, cooperative as

she was, would have accepted such advice from a social worker, but she did accept it from the psychiatrist as an acknowledged expert in such matters. The psychiatrist helped her to a personal adjustment when he made her see that O's practice of masturbation was not a degenerative activity but a natural one because of the blocking of other outlets.

Case No. 4. E's good, religious aunt brought her to the agency for supervision. Mrs. L's attitude was one of horror and disgust. She could not believe that anyone related to her had committed such offenses as E was guilty of committing.

E was dark, olive skinned, attractive. She had a mental age of thirteen years and an Intelligence Quotient of 82. She had been staying out at night, associating with bad companions, and frequenting a house of prostitution. The proprietress of this house declared she had never seen a young girl so brazen. At one time she had selected a man in the group which frequented the house and demonstrated with him before the others how intercourse was effected.

The girl's mother died when she was very young. Her father came of good people but was the family black sheep. He had married several times, each time to a low type of woman. E spent most of her childhood wandering about tourists' camps. At the age of four, an old man tampered with her. When she was in her teens her father found her too much of a problem and sent her to her aunt's home without so much as the usual "by your leave". Mr. and Mrs. L were a childless couple and very sad over the fact of their loneliness. They accepted E as their own child. Mrs. L had never met a girl like E before. She was completely shocked at her lack of morals and quite incapable of managing her.

The psychologist said, "E is a girl with a bad record of sex delinquency and obscenity. She is pleasant mannered, willing to admit that she has not behaved as she should, and is not at all stubborn. She is rather of a weak, easy going type, with an excellent memory, but poor reasoning powers and very little power of independent thought. She evidently is very easily led by whom-ever she is with, and has no power or inclination to resist leadership of any kind. She will probably respond to sympathetic treatment but is not likely to develop much independence of character, no matter what training she has. She has only a sixth grade education and no ambition for more."

The worker told E that her sex delinquency was not a crime but a physical trouble. She impressed her with the thought that such behaviour was a handicap for marriage, and that marriage might be a very happy, wholesome, relationship. At first the worker was handicapped in dealing with the girl because Mrs. L

used to threaten the girl with the worker's authority over her, which made the girl avoid the worker. The latter went to Mrs. L and explained that she make a mistake in giving E such an idea of the social worker, as her chief purpose was to befriend girls and assist them in difficulty. Mrs. L managed to get this idea across to E, and the girl's attitude immediately changed.

At first there was conflict between Mrs. L and E. E told the worker that she had blue spells when she was homesick for her father. Both aunt and uncle, she said, expected too much of a demonstration of affection from her. The worker urged E. to pay her aunt little thoughtful attentions to show her gratitude for her aunt's interest. Mrs. L responded readily to E's overtures.

The aunt told the worker that the girl was very impudent at times and was assured in return that she expected too much of the girl in a short time. The worker told Mrs. L that E had to have plenty of wholesome recreation, such as all girls her age demanded. It is amusing to note that after this, Mrs. L, who thought it a sin to go to a dance or to the theatre, took E to a dance hall and sat there in agony watching her enjoy herself. Mrs. L's attitude towards her niece was, "This is a human soul that I must help".

After some months, E told the worker, "I never had so much church in my life". Church became almost her entire social life. She danced at the church centre on Saturday evening. Her Sunday School class gave two entertainments a month at hospitals and sanitariums. Her boy friends were members of the church basketball team. Her only suitor was a friend of the family's whom she met at church. E was very glad to have her aunt accompany her to entertainments; the two dressed alike and her aunt said she wanted to be a chum to her.

When Mrs. L left town for the summer, E was quite at loss as to what she should do. She was very happy to have her aunt return. At one time the aunt talked of moving out of town and leaving E behind. The girl wept, saying she did not want to leave home and if she could not live with her aunt she wanted to die. When there was talk of her father's coming to the same city, E debated whether she should leave her aunt and go to him. When the decision was put up to the worker, she asked E to consider the advantages she was having and make her choice. E chose to stay with her aunt.

E has been steady at her employment. Mrs. L helps her with money. The girl makes most of her own clothes. The aunt is an immaculate housekeeper and has given E excellent training in domestic affairs. E's knowledge of etiquette has been absorbed from her aunt. When she last saw the worker, E volunteered the information that she would never go back to the old life again.

Discussion: This case was chosen because it depicts a type of very serious social offender, about whose reform skepticism is often expressed. Such weak, easily led individuals are the despair of many probation officers. It is sometimes overlooked that such a person may as easily be led by a superior individual as by a bad companion. Few of these serious offenders have the good fortune to fall into the hands of individuals of dominant personality and high standards and to live with them in intimate daily contact.¹⁶ It must have been extremely difficult for E, so accustomed to complete freedom, to adjust herself to the rather repressive atmosphere of her aunt's home. She suffered from severe mental conflict and shame after seeing her aunt's shocked reaction to her misconduct. This conflict evidenced itself in fits of blues, and in obsessions such as she described to the worker. For example, she stated that when she was alone, she often thought the old man who had assaulted her when she was very young, was with her again.

The aunt accepted the social worker's advice that it was normal for the girl to have plenty of recreation and companionship. An outlet for energy, such as G needed, was provided by the church. It also afforded an opportunity to develop new interests and companionship. This was a social institution of which Mrs. L could highly approve.

It is doubtful that E is a much stronger individual because of her association with her aunt. Mrs. L does not yet trust the girl enough to give her real responsibility. At least, she has succeeded in arousing in E a desire for more acceptable conduct. What greater jolt could E have received than to be suddenly transported from the roving life of tourists' camps to the conventional, religious, "proper" home of her aunt? This change provided her with a home, a father and mother substitute, people who took an interest in her success and well-being. The security was precious to her, and fear of losing it acted as a check upon her gay temperament. It is doubtful that E will get into any further trouble if her association with young men at the church results in marriage.

Case No. 40. L was thirteen when she ran away from the training home. She went straight to the mother from whom the social agency had separated her. She was brought back to court and sent to another institution for training.

L never looked anyone in the eye. When someone spoke to

¹⁶ Cf. Miriam Van Waters, "Youth in Conflict", Page 250.

her suddenly, she giggled nervously. Her shoulders were stooped. She was very quiet and self effacing.

In Juvenile Court she had accused her father of having had intimate relations with her. As a result, he was sent to the State Penitentiary. L's mother, diagnosed as psychotic, was sent to a hospital for the insane and the other children in the family were placed in orphanages.

When L was released from the institution there was no home to which she could return. Two wage homes were tried without success. L refused to accept the responsibility, pouted, sulked, told "dirty stories", and threatened to run away. She was temporarily placed back in the institution until a new home could be found.

The new foster parents were told something of L's history and were asked to be gentle and patient with her, teaching her not to be afraid of them. The foster mother was a young, frank, wholesome person, very jolly and very outspoken, in fact, the exact opposite of L. It was explained to her that L was a bundle of inhibitions and that the worker was placing her in their home to give L a taste of life in which repression was not necessary.

L is now transformed into a happy, rosy cheeked little girl. She still has a tendency to stick a broken dish into the ash barrel without letting anyone know that she has broken it, and she still evades responsibility when things are neglected, but the foster mother says that the girl has nevertheless come out of herself and at times is actually frank. The foster father insisted that her first move must be to put back her shoulders and look people straight in the eye.

One day L told her foster mother that if she ever knew all about her she would never have her in the house. Worker and foster mother consulted together. An interview was arranged between L and the worker, ostensibly on another matter. The worker casually mentioned her father and suggested that L go ahead and tell her foster mother everything if she so desired, that it would make no difference in the foster mother's regard for the girl. She was advised that if she thought about the matter she would show in face and actions a shame she had no further reason to feel. After this conversation, there was no mention of the matter in the foster home.

Discussion: It was unfortunate for L that she could not have been placed in the third home immediately after her discharge from the institution. The visitor did not understand the child's problem else she would not have placed her in the type of home which was first selected. No real attempt was made until later to discover her attitude and her processes of thinking. The first two boarding

mothers completely failed to understand the child and by scolding drove her to put up more defenses.

The present foster mother has helped the visitor to understand this child by her intelligent insight. She studied child psychology and is able to look upon the problem in a detached manner.

Foster home placement cannot be too painstakingly made in the case of a child with a history of incestuous knowledge. The ideal foster mother for a child of this type is a hopeful, intelligent, well educated person. When the social worker is able to bring to the case a real understanding of the child's psychology, treatment moves with purpose. It is the worker's duty to entrust a boarding mother such as L's boarding mother, with complete, or nearly complete, information about the child's background.

Seven other cases of successful foster home placement are included in this study. These are 28,¹⁷ 29, 41, 10, 21, and 42. In each instance the girl's own home was either permanently broken or else unfit because of low moral standards. In every case the foster home was successful because of the dominant personality of an intelligent woman. Seemingly, the foster father was not so important, although in every case it was noted that he took an interest in the problem, and that the foster mother and foster father seemed well suited to each other. Perhaps the social workers here involved did not take the trouble to consult foster fathers frequently.

It is often said that social workers make the mistake of placing girls in homes in which standards are too high. All the homes here selected were foster homes of very high standards. The privileges afforded the girls in these homes were not those of higher education, nor did they provide a round of social pleasures. They were rather the privileges afforded in the average high grade middle class home. Apparently they gave the girls no false or inflated ideas of luxurious living.

Adjusting to the Group

The fifth group of cases which follow, shows three girls who made fine adjustments to a social group. The first, "R", found her outlet through a successful vocational placement.

Case No. 38. R was nearly twenty when she came to the institution for the second time, having been given a suspended sentence by the court, where she had been charged with grand larceny.

¹⁷ None of these cases are presented for detailed study.

"A tall, well-built girl, with good features, a 'hard' face, and plenty of poise," the Chief Probation Officer said to himself as he studied her. The woman officer told him, "You just wait. That girl is all bluff. Wait until she cries. I know that expression. My little brother often looked just like that. Proud people always look brazen when they have their backs up against a wall, fighting. When you get her in your office, talk kindly to her, and see if she does not cry."

R had been "incorrigible" since she was thirteen. The years which intervened before her twentieth birthday had been spent in two industrial schools. Her mother was a hard-working, thrifty widow. The other daughters caused no trouble. The mother was very strict with R and worried because the girl would not obey her. When she discovered that R was stealing, she had hustled her into court. R was a perfect institutional girl. She never got into trouble while she was in an institution, but she never showed any inclination to change her conduct when she was released. Her last escapade had been brought about by her mother's suspicion of her and her accusation that R had been immoral. It was the girl's pride that there was no sex experience in her life. Mother and girl quarreled and the mother ordered R to leave the house. Out on the street, R's quick mind turned to a story she had been told by another girl in the industrial school she had last attended. No sooner thought than done!

Her next move was to register at a fashionable hotel. She went from one public building to another, representing herself as an insurance agent. In each office and cloakroom she picked up a valuable article of clothing and carried it off with her. Her poise, her winning manner, and attractive clothes gained her entree. She allayed all suspicion and managed to slip out so unobtrusively that no one guessed till later what had occurred. But later a certain article of clothing was located at a pawn shop and R was traced. She would not tell where she had sold some other stolen material because, she said, the woman to whom she had sold it took it in good faith that R was straight and R refused to get her in trouble.

The Chief Probation Officer took R into his office to give her instructions. He told her that he believed in her statement to the effect that she had never been a sex offender. He told her, too, that with her intelligence and ability to meet the world on an equal basis, she had a fine opportunity to get ahead in a desirable way. He was stopped in his discourse by a flood of tears. Manlike, he left the office and let her cry it out. She was then taken to an institution for another year's training.

R says today that this man and woman probation officer were the first two people with whom she came in contact, who were willing to believe that she could be anything but bad. She declares that their faith in her gave her the courage and determination which she needed.

Four years have gone by since this occurrence. R lives at home and is her mother's standby. She contributes the greater part of the family income. She cleans house, washes, and scrubs to help her mother. R sees that her mother has recreation and invites her own friends to her home with some pride.

Today R has gained the dignity of a profession. She finished high school and continued her studies at night school. She has been successful in her profession for three years. Those with whom she is in close association do not know about her career of former days. No one questions her integrity, or her ability to do her work well.

At Christmas time last year R got up a party for a group of children in a poor neighborhood. The Community Fund gave her a tree and presents. A bus company furnished transportation. A wholesale grocery house contributed fruit and nuts. R used every resource as a social worker might have done to "put over" her party and to give her children a good time.

Discussion: This girl, as presented for treatment, was the most "typical" social outcast included in this study. She was most truly isolated from her family and from normal society because of her innumerable acts of thievery.¹⁸ Institutional life gave her ideals and training but it did not at first change her point of view. In the institution she used her dramatic ability to good advantage in entertainments. Outside the institution, it was used to deceive others. When R met social workers who possessed insight, who could look beyond her "hard" exterior and sense the suffering that she felt from being alone, she was affected for the first time with a desire to act as other people acted. To gain confidence, she had to receive it, and to make good she had to justify someone's faith. R is not at all ashamed that a certain small and friendly group of people know all about her, for she feels that she can safely trust her reputation with them.

If R did not have the dignity of professional work, it is doubtful that she would be contented. Her salary is not large. She loves clothes and spends so much money on them that she is frequently in need of much more than she earns during the daytime and has to supplement by night work. However, she clings desperately to her job and for fear her educational qualifications will ever be questioned, continues to study. Wherever she goes, she is at pains to let people know her profession. She is compensating for the loneliness of years

¹⁸ Miriam Van Waters, "The Delinquent Attitude", *The Family*, July, 1924, Vol. 5, Page 109.

by being not only an accepted member of a social group, but a respected one.

Some probation officers would have been very reluctant to recommend R for a position. The probation officer in R's case certainly "kept the standard of expectation high,"¹⁹ and R came up to the mark. She exerted a fine quality of imagination when she saw in this girl material for a professional worker. Vocational opportunity gave R the very thing she had never possessed and wanted most—social position.

Case No. 9. J was sixteen and a runaway from home—because her father scolded her, she explained. She was a spirited and restless girl, and her only interest appeared to be clothes. Two years before this time she had been assaulted by some men in a machine, picked up, brought to court, and paroled to her father,—a sordid little experience such as happens to many girls who are spirited and restless. In her family it meant the end of all freedom. It was necessary for her to receive treatments for a specific disease. She had almost no social life. Her home was a good American home, but her parents were the stern, oppressive type who reminded her constantly of her unfortunate sex experience and never permitted her to leave the house at night.

J's mental age was fifteen and her Intelligence Quotient 95: Diagnosis, "normal". The examiner said, "J has normal intelligence, but not nearly enough education. Her imagination, which is strong, has not enough to work on. J, instead of studying and preparing for the future as a girl of her age should be doing, has an idle mind, few friends, and no regular recreation. She admits she thinks all the time about clothes because she has 'nothing else to think about'. I advise her connection with some recreation council, some night school work, and a family adjustment which will make her parents realize the necessity of keeping the girl from idleness, and from growing up into an empty-headed young woman. In spite of the trouble J got into previously, she has enough will to use her mind towards good ends rather than getting into mischief."

Two years ago J was married, after the organization had worked with her for a year. During this year her needs were met directly and promptly. The recreation council sent a worker to her family and secured their consent to permit the girl to attend classes at a community center. She learned dressmaking and millinery. The group went on hikes. She joined her leader's Sunday school class with great pleasure. Three months after her start, she was asked to assist in basketry class and was chosen leader of a club of small girls. She assisted also in putting on a dramatic pro-

¹⁹ Lucy Wright, "The Worker's Attitude as an Element in Social Case Work", *The Family*, July, 1924, Page 104.

duction. The community center executive reported that she attended classes regularly, never missing a night during the entire season. When summer came, they asked her to stay on at the Community Center as a regular worker, but the recreation leader was leaving for summer camp, and as no one would be responsible for J, her parents refused their consent. In the fall, however, the girl returned to her classes and the following June, married. She continued her association with the recreation worker and is considered a valuable club leader.

Discussion: This is another case of going straight to the heart of the difficulty. J lacked social life and recreation and this was provided in the most direct way possible. The agency turned full responsibility over to recreation workers. It took skill to observe in the beginning that this empty-headed girl possessed any of the qualities of leadership.

In the following case another girl, like J, developed an interesting personality chiefly from social recognition and club leadership.

Case No. 26. W was a stepchild. At fifteen, her stepmother persuaded her father to bring her into Juvenile Court on a charge of incorrigibility. W's own mother had died ten years before. With the advent of her stepmother, affairs had not gone well. The stepmother did not like W nor her sister. She didn't want to have W's friends about the house nor did she want the girl to go to school. Her father refused to buy her school books although he was well able to do so. Neighbors said that the stepmother constantly beat W and her sister with a strap. The stepmother told the judge that W stayed out late at night, and had stolen a cape, two coats, and a pair of shoes from the school. She asserted that the girl had also stolen sizeable sums of money from her own home, and had even helped herself to things in the homes of neighbors.

The girl had a mental age of 16 years, 9 months and an Intelligence Quotient of 113; she was classified as a bright, normal girl.

The Juvenile Court judge, observing her thinness, her pallor and her wretchedness, said that she needed a complete change of environment. He directed that she be placed and supervised.

One year and a half later, W is working as a stenographer in an office. She dresses well and is ambitious to become a secretary. Last fall she was elected president of her club. W is still estranged from her own family. The family with whom she boards treat her as their own child and she has the approval and interest of a Big Sister.

The social worker first placed W in a wage home where she went about in friendly fashion with the family. Although she

willingly did the work assigned to her, she was not particularly happy, and the kind, warm-hearted people with whom she stayed were unable to break down her barrier of reserve. It was only at club meeting that W exhibited a sociable attitude. The recognition she received from the other girls pleased and scared her. The girls were very responsive to her suggestions and she proved to be a wise leader.

When W was allowed to leave her wage home and assume an office position, she was very happy. She had been attending commercial school and had been coached in shorthand by her Big Sister. A boarding home was found where she might be considered one of the family and be under the watchful eye of the boarding mother.

W gave the visitor considerable worry by her continued companionship with a girl of questionable morals. The worker refused to permit her to go to live with this girl, who was fun loving, popular, and made much of W. When W found out the girl's real character, she told the worker that she was ashamed and humiliated by having been taken in by that type of girl. Knowing for herself that the girl was immoral, W was perfectly willing to break off her friendship with her.

W made a fling for freedom suddenly. She came to the worker and asked permission to go out of town selling books for a publishing house. She was earning \$80 a month in an office but said she was sick of it. "I'll have some future in the new work," she said. "It won't be sitting in a stuffy old office, but seeing people and the country." The worker told her that no company had any legal right to send her out of town, as she was under age. She said, too, that she was taking the place of the girl's own mother, and she knew no mother would wish her daughter to be exposed to the hardships and dangers of such work.

Within a few days the worker had a letter from W, postmarked in a city not far distant. She had gone off "on her own" and taken the position. "I'm sorry I deceived you," wrote W. "I had given up my position when I saw you and had trained for the new one. Please have faith in me, although I do not deserve it. Please tell me you forgive me, though I did such a thoughtless thing. Next to God I love you best." She wrote again that she had gone to church, as the worker wished her to do. "I hope you've forgiven me by this time," she wrote, "and are not worried over worthless me. Trust me to keep my eyes open."

The worker accomplished some excellent detective work with the help of the company which had employed W and the Traveler's Aid Society. The Traveler's Aid had the girl notified to come to the station in the town where she was working and receive a telegram. This telegram said only, "Implicit confidence that you will return immediately." W took the next train back and when she met the worker in the station said, "Now, don't be nice to me!"

"I knew as soon as I got out of town that I'd made a big mistake," she told the worker. "I was waiting all along for a letter from you General Delivery. The Traveler's Aid lady asked me if I were surely going home. If she'd only known how crazy I was to do it!"

W went back voluntarily to "face the music" at her boarding home. She got a new job and settled down in the home with a more contented spirit than she had ever shown before.

Discussion: The methods used in this case were based on the affiliation of the girl with a group in which she could lead. W came from a home in which she was made constantly to feel her inferiority. Her personality had never before had an opportunity to emerge. She was treated not only as an individual but as a social being and in the group achieved the recognition she sorely craved.

The religious appeal was made by the worker throughout the girl's contacts with her. Right living was put on a moral basis, and the girl's emotions were appealed to by the reference to her mother's memory. The girl felt that the worker took a personal interest in her and really liked her. She wanted the worker's approval and affection.

W's vocational opportunities did a great deal to develop her personality and to open up new relationships. The change from housework to office work was a very wise one, for W with her higher mentality would neither have been contented or successful at an occupation she considered beneath her.

The runaway incident gave the girl a taste of freedom which she failed to enjoy. The worker could not help the girl to real insight because the girl had emotional blind spots and refused to see herself as others saw her. She learned only through the experience in trying for herself, as was also true in the case of the girl of loose morals whose friendship she had desired, and afterwards relinquished, when she was able to see for herself the girl's low standards.

There was real appeal in the worker's telegram, "Implicit confidence you will return." W was feeling at the moment she received it, that she had lost everyone's confidence, and was hating herself. Her response was instantaneous.

It required an imagination of a sensitive type to picture W's state of mind at that time. A less sympathetic and understanding

individual might very easily have felt the runaway girl was delighted to escape from authority. This worker knew her girl, and knew that she would be heaping abuse upon herself in no time at all. And so the appeal went straight to its mark.

If the method of arrest had been used when W ran away, the results might very easily have been unfortunate. Such a procedure would have robbed W of all her new found dignity. Had the girls at the club discovered their president's predicament, the girl would never have been able to face them again. The work of months would have been undone. As it was, worker and boarding mother were the only ones who knew of the escapade.

In Case No. 6 (not presented here) the girl found social life through her fiance and his family. This was true of No. 37 also. Case No. 18, (not presented here) was that of a girl who could not gain liking and friendship at school or in wage homes. Through a conscious effort to give as well as get from girls in a club group, she was able to win the friendship and recognition she craved. In Case No. 32, (not presented here for study) the Big Sister opened vocational opportunity for the girl when she secured a job for her Little Sister in her own office. Case No. 31, (not presented for study) was that of a childish, shut-in personality who was ridiculed at home and at school and found her only consolation in books. The club and a Big Sister have given her self confidence and an interest in sports. The Big Sister in Case No. 34, (not presented for study) discovered that her Little Sister when taking part in group play suffered from feelings of inferiority, caused by her lack of education and her poorer intellectual equipment. The Big Sister set about building up the girl's self confidence and protected her in the group from the undue attention of others.

Conclusions:

What helped these forty-four girls to become socially acceptable individuals? What methods of social treatment were of most value in effecting readjustments? Why did these forty-four girls change their attitudes?

In reviewing case by case the factors presented, the first and most obvious answer is, "Time did it." Time is acknowledged to

be a potent factor in all healing processes and with the passing of time, the restless adolescent becomes a young woman.

Although this thesis is written from the standpoint of case work methods involved, and not from that of statistical findings, the accompanying tables throw some light on the problem.

Table No. 1, given in Appendix II, shows how important time is in case work with delinquent girls. On an average, social workers had contact with their charges for thirty-eight months, more than three years per case. At the outset of this study, it was determined that the girl's success could better be estimated if she had been under treatment for a long period of time. The workers in choosing the cases they considered most successful found that long time treatment was a characteristic of their successful work. The girl longest under care (Case No. 7), had been coming to the social worker for five years, although the office considered that she had ceased to be a problem two years before and the case had been officially closed. The unusually successful results achieved in this case certainly justify the expenditure of the worker's time. Two of the Big Sister cases had been under care for ten and twelve months respectively, but both showed that a real adjustment had taken place. The Catholic Big Sisters had not been long organized when this study was made, but most of the cases selected had been known to the executive for some time.

In the majority of cases, the social worker saw her charge about three times a month. The Juvenile Court Probation Officers are able to make only one contact a month, but this is made up by contacts of other agencies to which the probation officers refer the girl for special opportunities. The child returned to the psychiatrist at the Children's Aid Society on the average of once every two or three months. If the clinic worker had full charge of the case, her contacts were frequent and her work intensive. Many of these Children's Aid Society Cases were referred to the child placing organizations for follow-up. The Catholic Big Sisters see their Little Sisters at least once a week, and in many cases more often. The Women's Protective Association workers make contacts with their charges at least three times a month, as was the case with the visitor at the Convent of the Good Shepherd.

Treatment of delinquent girls, it becomes evident, is very expensive treatment. The results shown in individual cases seem to

justify the expenditure. The girls studied have reestablished their homes, educated younger brothers and sisters, Americanized their parents, sought for a better education, proved excellent leaders of other girls, and become vocationally efficient.

Table No. 2, given below, shows the behaviour problems which these girls presented when they were referred to the social agencies.

TABLE No. 2

Incorrigibility	93%
Sex offenses	70%
Rebellion against authority	68%
Associating with bad companions	54%
Stealing	41%
Out nights	66%
Dishonesty other than stealing	29%
Runaway	50%
Truancy	25%
Venereal disease	15%
Smoking	6%
Drinking	2%

Most of our delinquency seems to be so-called incorrigibility. This includes rebellion against parents, school, and all authority. It shows itself most frequently in sex misconduct and in running away from home. 70% of the girls were sex offenders; 41% were accused of stealing; 54% had been initiated into bad practices by evil companions; only 15% had venereal disease. Two chronic serious illnesses were recorded; one case of acute inflammation of the heart and one case of tuberculosis.

The real problem from the standpoint of this study is not the behavior exhibited, but the attitude towards society which the delinquent exhibited at the time of reference. In many cases her behavior was part of her defense, but further study showed that she considered the world set against her, and that she was unconvinced that there was any real reason why she should do as her neighbors did in regard to morality or property or obedience.

Truancy seems to play so small a part in misbehaviour here, that the writer wondered what the cause might be. However, as many girls in the study were over sixteen and had obtained working certificates, it became evident that truancy could not be expected to

show up to any extent as a problem. Undoubtedly many of the older girls had been school problems, but the records did not show this fact.

The typical delinquent girl as this study reveals her is only sixteen years old and very much the flapper. She has an (average) Intelligence Quotient of 87. She is usually a sex delinquent, often a runaway from home. At first she is tight lipped, flippant, often brazen in manner. She refuses to give information as to how she got in trouble and is extremely suspicious and cynical about social workers. She often says in good faith that she does not want the particular thing she most desires. For a time she resents supervision and looks upon the social worker's suggestions as arbitrary dictation. However, she does acquire from other people a different attitude.

Table No. 3, given below, shows the life ages and intelligence quotients of the girls studied.

TABLE NO. 3

Case No.	Life Age	I. Q.
1	20	110
2	16	95
3	16	77
4	17	82
5	15.8	85
6	18	96
7	20	91
8	16	89
9	16	95
10	16	89
11	18	82
12	14.5	106
13	16.1	81
14	16.8	91
15	14.11	75
16	15	108
17	16	98
18	14.8	115
19	13	80
20	13.10	114
21	14	82
22	15	100
23	15	?
24	19	?
25	19	?
26	15	113
27	14	78
28	14	?
29	16	?
30	14	102
31	15	82

Case No.	Life Age	I. Q.
32	17	?
33	13	88
34	14	81
35	14.11	77
36	14.7	138
37	15	?
38	19	?
39	15.4	82
40	13.4	98
41	17	93
42	18	?
43	15	80
44	17	80

It was determined before the study was launched, that no girls with known mental defects of a serious nature should be included, because of the impossibility of estimating their ability to make successful adjustments. The cases in which real personality developments were shown, however, were those cases in which the Intelligence Quotient was fairly high. The girl who rated highest had an Intelligence Quotient of 138, diagnosis very superior. She was a serious sex delinquent, a bitter rebel against all authority, and the product of an unhappy home. The lowest Intelligence Quotient was 75. The girl in this instance was a thief. The psychologist rated her as dull normal rather than as a borderline case. In nine instances, the intelligence quotient was not known. Two of these nine had visited psychiatrists, but were not referred for Binet tests. They were apparently normal in intelligence.

Table No. 4, below, estimates the home conditions from which each girl came.

TABLE No. 4

One parent dead	41%
Both parents dead	11%
Both parents living together	25%
Separated or divorced, not remarried	6%
Remarried	52%
"Good home"	32%
Poor standards	51%
Immoral influence in home	38%
Extreme severity noted	45%
Great leniency noted	52%
Coming from own homes	68%

When these girls were referred, 68% were then living in their own homes. Few were full orphans. The broken home figured largely, as in only 25% of the cases were both parents living and living together. Death, divorce, and separation caused the original break. The intrusion of a step-parent caused another disruption. Adjustment to a stepfather or stepmother seems to have been a very important factor in the cases studied. Often the girl had never been a social offender until the death of her own mother or father.

Most of the girls who came from so-called "good homes" of high standards were nevertheless not intelligently handled in those homes. The horror of the concerned adults aggravated the difficulties encountered.

Authority, weak and domineering, vested in parents, caused much rebellion. It is interesting to see that the too-strict parent had almost as much difficulty with his daughter as the lenient parent. Harsh discipline and over-indulgence were almost equal factors.

It was impossible to chart the causative factors accurately in the study because they were not given in the records except in those cases in which the girl had been taken to a psychiatrist. One can only guess why social workers were so shy in giving their opinions as to causes. The writer believes that they felt only experts in the mental field were qualified to give such diagnosis.

The factors showing up most frequently as causes were: desire for affection not found at home; desire for recognition and praise; early knowledge of bad sex practices; poor environmental conditions; adolescent instabilities; lack of home training; association with bad companions; feelings of "inferiority"; homes with a repressive and foreign atmosphere; overindulgence in the home; lack of proper companionship; lack of suitable recreational outlets; unjust suspicion and lack of confidence on the part of associates; being reminded by parents of past mistakes; conflicts with step parents; rebellion against unjust authority.

Table No. 5, given herewith, groups the cases studied as to the primary adjustment made. It shows causes as well, since the writer is taking the thesis that a particular maladjustment was responsible for the delinquent attitude in each case. Let it be understood, (at the risk of repetition) that each case showed a number of types of adjustment, but that the necessary adjustment is stressed in this table.

TABLE NO. 5

* These records show an adjustment made through development of insight.

** These records illustrate an adjustment made to authority.

† These records illustrate adjustment in the child's own home.

‡ These records illustrate adjustment in a foster home.

§ These records illustrate a group adjustment, and group recognition.

Case No.	Type of Record	Case No.	Type of Record
1	**	23	**
2	†	24	§
3	†	25	§
4	‡	26	§
5	‡	27	§
6	§	28	‡
7	*	29	‡
8	†	30	§
9	§	31	§
10	‡	32	§
11	†	33	†
12	*	34	†
13	§	35	‡
14	*	36	**
15	*	37	*
16	**	38	§
17	§	39	†
18	§	40	‡
19	**	41	‡
20	‡	42	**
21	**	43	‡
22	**	44	†

Five of the cases listed show that the primary adjustment was an adjustment made to reality through the development of insight. A direct approach to the girl's mental life was made by the social worker and psychiatrist, and the girl's understanding of her own mental life helped her to work out her solution. Insight was developed in many other cases, also, but the worker in these five cases early determined that the girl involved was intelligent and analytical enough to see her problem from a detached viewpoint. If these

girls had emotional blind spots, they were successful in clearing them up.

Eight girls learned that authority could be reasonable, and their acceptance of it resulted in a changed attitude towards parents, school, institution, probation officer, and social worker. The wholesome discipline of institutional life was most helpful in the majority of these cases. Eight made happy adjustments in their own homes. Ten made unusually good adjustments in foster homes. There were others who successfully fitted into the environment in which they were placed, but these others had some other problem to solve before they could be successful in their own homes or in foster homes. Thirteen made a notable adjustment because they found satisfaction and recognition from the group. Big Sister group parties brought out many girls in this group. Successfully adjusting to a job gave others the self confidence they needed.

Treatment

William Healy, in "The Child, His Nature and His Needs," says that treatment may begin with the child himself, with his environment, or with the people about him.²⁰ Social workers used a change of environment in nearly every case studied here. 54% of the girls were placed in detention for a time. 43% went to institutions for training. Foster homes were used at least temporarily in 75% of the cases. 50% had been returned to their own homes at the time the study was made. In twelve cases in which the girl returned home, the worker was able to work with the girl to her entire satisfaction. However, very little was done after the girl returned to her home, to help the parents to adjust their methods to the girl. Most of the work was done directly with the girl. There were hopeful possibilities in these homes which were not touched. In only four instances did the worker find it impossible to make any real change in the home or to get the parents to take a more intelligent interest in the problem.

In contrast to this is the picture of the efforts made by all workers to work intensively with the people in wage and foster homes. In the wage home, the worker used long interviews with the foster mother to discuss and analyze the personality of the girl and possible methods of dealing with her. In none of the "own home"

²⁰ "The Child, His Nature and His Needs," Chapter by William Healy on Preventing Delinquency, Page 232.

placements was such service shown. The workers seemed to be in much closer contact with girls in wage homes than with girls who had been returned to their own homes. Perhaps this may be accounted for by explaining that the worker had a greater responsibility for the girl whom she placed in a foster home, and, feeling this responsibility, gave more personal service, using her opportunities to find out the real character of her charge. The girl in the wage home was in a sense more dependent upon the worker than the girl in her own home. Girls who were placed in homes of relatives received from the worker much advice as to their conduct towards these relatives. The worker had many talks with aunts and uncles, cousins and grandparents. These consultations brought excellent results.

The workers found that girls coming from institutions had benefitted greatly from the training. The writer is not endeavoring to prove by this statement that institutions should always be used to train problem girls. We can, if we look, find many cases of girls who did not adjust themselves to institutions, just as we can find many girls who did not adjust themselves to foster homes or relatives' homes. The use of the institution under the best possible conditions is shown in these studies. The institution gave the unstable child for the time a controlled environment, in which all the influences brought to bear could be estimated and understood. The real contribution of the institution is made to girls whose home training has been very poor, and in cases in which the delinquency has been recurrent, resistant to all other treatment. The training school teaches new ideals and standards, fills the girl's day with regular, well-balanced activity, and cares for her physical, educational, vocational and religious needs. The character building power of the institution is often derived from its insistence upon consistent achievement. The institution should not be expected to do the most for the most difficult type of child. Many hopeful cases in the early stages of delinquency can be given the proper direction by institutional treatment. It is a matter again of fitting the round house to the round child. It would be a grave mistake to say that institutions or foster homes or relatives' homes should be used in special types of cases. The decision must absolutely be made on a basis of individual need.

The girl's fiance was helpful to the worker in five cases. Marriage ranks high as a solution of the problem if the husband is a stable individual, and marriage means the establishment of a home and the raising of a family.

Religion in the life of the adolescent girl can be a dominant factor or it may not figure at all. In 50% of the cases, the workers recognized its importance. In the other 50%, this factor in the girl's life was, apparently, blandly ignored. Does it not seem that those who have the temerity to take human life into their hands and direct its course should stress the importance of religious practices, and enlist the guidance of religious people? One of the girls studied said, "I was filled with a greater desire to pray and give myself up to God at sixteen than I have ever felt since. I got much peace and happiness just from going into a church. I was a little ashamed to acknowledge it, because I associated religion with 'goody-goody' people, but it meant a lot to me then." Rightly directed, the religious spirit can bring about remarkable changes in attitude.

Health instruction, as well as the use of clinics and dispensaries, was general. Minor defects, enlarged tonsils, dental caries, were usually cared for while the girl was in detention. No health charts were included in any of the records studied, so that it was impossible to estimate how many of the medical recommendations had been carried out.

Formal education played only a minor part in treatment. Only two girls attended night school, one studying for high school credit, and another taking up sewing. One is planning a normal school education and two are contemplating going through college. One had had three years at college. Is it not rather surprising that more opportunities for higher education were not provided, and that the desire for higher education was so often lacking?

Three girls achieved socialization through activities at settlement houses. Eighteen were experiencing a new taste of social life through their Big Sisters. Twenty-one attended Big Sister parties. Two got most of their recreation at church, and thirteen were allowed to choose their recreation with little or no interference. The majority of the workers seemed to acknowledge the vital place that wholesome recreation must play in the girl's life, and they were surprisingly successful in convincing stubborn parents, relatives, and foster mothers of it.

In 61% of the records, it was shown that the worker helped her charge to find employment. The girls thereafter were able to make changes in work unassisted, and the first opportunity provided was made use of successfully. Big Sisters in three instances secured positions for their Little Sisters. The girl who held a job over a

period of time and was known as a good worker, gained in self respect and self reliance. Most of the workers consulted stated that they believed the girl valued most the job she had found herself.

Direct Approach

Although the worker may manipulate the girl's environment and the people in it, her treatment of the girl, and her approach to the girl's mental life, are most important. When I began this study I wondered: "How many workers know what their clients are really thinking? How many go ahead with plans of treatment not knowing their client's personality? How many understand the real difficulty?"

It is encouraging to find that in seventy-five per cent of the studies, the worker helped the girl to insight into her own problem. The other twenty-five per cent was made up of girls of lower intelligence level, whose ability to analyze their own behavior was inadequate.

Transference of affection and interest to the worker was shown in forty-nine per cent of the cases. The worker was able to receive this affection sanely and objectively, helping the girl to effect a transfer to some person to whom it might more naturally go, such as foster mother or sweetheart. In several cases interest was transferred to the job. At least fifty per cent of the girls studied showed a notable change in personality, while all showed growth in maturity and stability. At least fifty per cent had developed new and satisfying social relationships.

The Ideal Case Worker: Her Attitude and Her Methods

Studying the attitude of the case workers who handled these forty-four cases, one can readily form a composite picture of the ideal case worker with delinquent girls.

The ideal girls'-worker assumes towards her charges the role of both Big Sister and Mother. She makes the girl feel that she likes her, is interested in her affairs, and can be counted on as a friend. She is a good creative listener, giving the girl plenty of opportunities to confess her failings, express her ideas, and formulate plans. The ideal case worker is "non-shockable". She has a

scientific attitude towards all behavior, viewing it with detachment, and trying to get beyond it into real causes. This worker has no feeling that she is condescending to associate with the girl. Rather, she feels a genuine stimulus in the girl's companionship. Everything she says or does expresses her confidence. Suspicion is a word not included in her lexicon.

When she prepares her plan of treatment, the worker includes wherever possible a visit to the psychologist and psychiatrist, who will increase her understanding of the girl's problem. In talking to the girl herself, or to those who have supervision of her, the worker places the emphasis on the constructive or hopeful aspects of the case and never dwells on the sordid and shameful details of the girl's history. She never scolds. She never gives praise undeserved, but she does see that her charge gets approval for real effort or achievement. Ideally, this worker does not impose her own standards upon the girl. Rather, she allows her all the freedom she desires in choosing friends, recreation, and employment, and in handling money. She knows that only this method of supervision will develop the girl's initiative and judgment. Actually, in cases in which the girl is childish, has a weak will, or poor judgment, the worker tactfully proposes to the girl attractive alternatives for the recreation or companionship of which she disapproves. In the case of a very dependent girl, the worker aims to place her in intimate, daily contact with a forceful personality. She is satisfied only with placement in the home of a foster mother and father who understand children and can be trusted with more or less complete information about a girl's history.

The worker is watchful to detect qualities of leadership in her charges. She gives girls possessing such abilities opportunities to affiliate with a girl's club. She perceives special talent and ability and utilizes it. She does all she can to encourage the girl to go on with higher education or with training for a special vocation.

The ideal girls'-worker is well adjusted to the subject of sex. She spends as little time as is necessary talking about sex, but she does use convenient opportunities to slip into her talks sex instruction, and she shows the girl that she thinks of marriage as a wholesome and happy relationship. She gives her an opportunity to see homes which are secure and tranquil. The worker does everything possible to foster in the girl a sense of responsibility towards her home. Knowing the value of the budget as a stabilizer, the worker

sees that her charge saves money and uses a budget. The standard of expectation is kept high. The worker leads the girl to think that she can achieve the best. This best may apply to her conduct, to the practice of her religion, to her work, or to her relationships with other people. Yet, in keeping the standard of expectation high, the worker does not permit failure to throw discouragement over previous effort. Browning's, "Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for?" expresses something of the worker's feeling towards her charge's latent possibilities. There is a vast difference between imposing upon a girl impossibly high standards of living and conduct, and "keeping the standard of expectation high."

In her talks with the girl, the worker tries to develop insight and to give the girl confidence in her own ability. She believes in rendering a good deal of personal service when the girl is in need of help, but she does nothing for her which the girl could and should do for herself. The worker does not threaten or use force when her charge shows a tendency to break through restrictions and "have her fling." She tries to help the girl to see that any deprivation of freedom is a consequence of her own acts, and that an institution may be a way station where she is re-routed in the right direction after she has started off in the wrong one. The worker uses imagination, flexibility, skill, and expertness as a substitute for force.

The ideal case worker is not a compound of mythical virtues. Her attitude and her methods are simply a compound of the attitudes and methods employed by case workers in each of these forty-four studies.

Why Girls Go Right

Having determined on a few acceptable methods of treatment, we come at last to the consideration, "Why do girls go right?"

After this long look into the minds and hearts of forty-four delinquent girls, the writer feels that they went right for the following reasons: because of a desire for companionship, after loneliness; because of a desire to appear well in the eyes of those whose affection and approval they had come to crave; because they had gained recognition from a social group; because their home life was no longer unpleasant; because they had found a substitute for a lost father or mother; because through marriage they had found a

home; because they had learned that it was necessary to submit to authority, and that authority could be reasonable; because they had gained insight into their own personality difficulties; because they had found jobs which gave them satisfaction and the feeling of adequacy; because they had grasped new ideals of right living and conduct; because of a cessation of the suspicion and too great restrictiveness which had hampered them; because they were held to a more strict standard of behavior and performance; because they outgrew adolescence; and because of the provision of normal outlets in new interests and wholesome recreation.

Appendix I

Bibliography

Books

Title	Author	City	Date	Publishing Co.
Youth in Conflict	Miriam Van Waters	New York City	1926	Republic Pub. Co.
The Normal Mind	William Henry Burnham	New York City	1924	D. Appleton & Co.
Case Studies	William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner	Boston, Mass.	1923	Judge Baker Foundation.
The Unadjusted Girl	William I. Thomas	Boston, Mass.	1923	Little, Brown & Co.
The Child, the Clinic, and the Court	A group of papers	New York City	1925	New Republic, Inc.
The Child, His Nature, and His Needs	M. V. O'Shea, Editor	Valparaiso, Ind.	1924	The Children's Founda- tion.
Pathological Lying, Accu- sation, and Swindling	William Healy and Mary Tenney Healy	Boston, Mass.	1915	Little, Brown & Co.
The Kingdom of Evils	E. E. Southard and Mary C. Jarrett	New York City	1922	The Macmillan Co.
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The Worker's Attitude as an Element in Social Case Work	Lucy Wright	The Family	July, 1924, Vol. 5, p. 104.
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Unwanted and Delin- quent.	Miriam Van Waters	The Survey	May 15, 1925, Vol. 54, p. 228.

Appendix II

Time Element, Table No. 1

<i>Case No.</i>	<i>Opened</i>	<i>Closed</i>	<i>Time to Present</i>
1	10-10-23		30 months
2	11-22-24		17 "
3	11- 5-24		17 "
4	11-11-24	1-19-26	17 "
5	12-29-22	6-20-23	36 "
6	2- 2-23	2-19-26	38 "
7	2-12-21		62 "
8	10- 1-22	11-24-25	43 "
9	2-14-23	6-24-24	38 "
10	1-26-25		15 "
11	12-27-22	2-10-25	40 "
12	5- 1-24		24 "
13	5- 5-25		23 "
14	5-28-24		23 "
15	10-29-24		18 "
16	3-17-22	9-25-24	30 "
17	11-19-24	3- 9-26	18 "
18	10-10-23	3- 9-26	29 "
19	12- 8-22		40 "
20	1-21-24		27 "
21	5-20-21		60 "
22	12-26-22		52 "
23	5-10-22		41 "
24	5-24-24		41 "
25	2-29-24		14 "
26	1-24-24		27 "
27	7-27-23		32 "
28	12-12-22		40 "
29	9-16-24		19 "
30	2- 2-24		26 "
31	6-16-25		10 "
32	7- 9-23		33 "
33	1-23-23		39 "
34	5-11-23		35 "
35	8-23-23		32 "
36	9-18-22		43 "
37	10-19-23		29 "
38	6- 7-22		46 "
39	6- 1-22		46 "
40	11-14-23		29 "
41	12-17-24		16 "
42	3-17-25		13 "
43	1-18-24		27 "
44	1-30-25		15 "

Appendix III

Index of Cases Presented for Study

No. 3	Page 44
No. 4	" 53
No. 7	" 19
No. 9	" 60
No. 12	" 28
No. 16	" 33
No. 19	" 41
No. 26	" 61
No. 30	" 48
No. 34	" 46
No. 35	" 50
No. 36	" 36
No. 37	" 24
No. 38	" 57
No. 40	" 56

Pamphlets

Vol.6

L41230

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